

By TOM HENEGHAN

Peshawar, Aug. 29.

Food shortages are now so common in parts of Afghanistan that some guerrilla units have had to scale down attacks on Soviet troops for lack of rations, according to key resistance leaders in Peshawar.

Peshawar-based guerrilla groups have begun sending seeds into Afghanistan and urging their fighters and local farmers to tend the fields of peasants who have fled to Kabul or Pakistan, they told Reuters.

The shortages, caused by the repeated Soviet bombing of irrigation canals and the burning of crops, are part of an overall strategy to destroy the village infrastructure which supports the rebels in their war against the communist Government, they said.

"Mujahideen (Islamic warriors) have had to pull back from some operations because of a lack of rations," said Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, leader of the Jamiat-i-Islami Party fighting in the North.

He and Mr. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, head of the radical Islamic party Hezb-i-Islami, said food shortages had hampered their men in at least six provinces, mostly in southeastern Afghanistan.

Their warnings about hunger in these areas tallied with reports from Westerners coming out of Afghanistan who say food is in short supply even in some traditionally rich agricultural areas.

Ms. Hanneke Kowenbergh of the Dutch Support Committee for Afghanistan said she rarely got more than coarse flat bread and tea during her latest tour of central and northern Afghanistan. The hospitable Afghans usually give guests their best food.

The Panjsher Valley, a former Jamiat stronghold taken after a major Soviet offensive this spring, was the worst supplied, she said. "Some days we got only sugar and hot water."

Afghan Aid, a British volunteer group, warned in May that widespread famine could hit the country, especially the Panjsher Valley and the remote northeastern province of Badakhshan, because the five-year war had left many farms untended, irrigation systems destroyed and cattle killed.

Food prices and transport costs had also risen, upsetting the usual pattern of food distribution, said the study fund-

ed by Britain's Overseas Development Administration.

"A high prevalence of malnutrition is common in some parts of Afghanistan and does necessarily indicate famine conditions," it said.

Prof. Rabbani said the current shortages, which began with a dry winter and were then worsened by the Soviet offensive this year, forced Jamiat to hastily arrange seed shipments for farmers in guerrilla-held areas.

"We prefer very resistant crops, like potatoes, because they grow underground and can survive bombardments," he said. "We're also sending in seeds for very strong wheat that can grow in cold climates like in the mountains in northern Afghanistan."

While guerrilla-held areas are suffering shortages, Kabul enjoys good supplies because the Government is paying higher prices to attract them, Mr. Hekmatyar said.

"They are trying to create such a gap between the city and the countryside that people will leave their villages to go to Kabul," he said. "That destroys our base of support and gives them more men to conscript into the Army."

Western diplomats in Islamabad, who this week reported Soviet troops had stepped up efforts to destroy crops now that harvest time was approaching, said they heard from Kabul that bazaars there were well stocked with fruit, vegetables and meat.

But prices have been rising and a much-publicised Government campaign begun earlier this summer to hold them down seems to have been quietly dropped.

Afghanistan's official news agency, Bakhtar, denied famine reports soon after the British study appeared, saying marketplaces were full of peas, beans and wheat.

It did not say where the marketplaces were.

Prof. Rabbani and Mr. Hekmatyar said lack of rations had kept their guerrillas from carrying out their normal number of attacks in parts of Logar, Ghazni, Wardak and Zabul, all southeastern provinces hard hit by fighting and the exodus to Pakistan.

They also mentioned Ghor province in central Afghanistan and Herat in the West as areas suffering from food shortages.

Prof. Rabbani said Jamiat had approached international aid organisations, which normally help only the refugees in Pakistan, to ask them to begin shipping food and other aid into the country.

Two field commanders recently interviewed by Reuters reported serious food shortages in their areas. Mr. Taj Mohammad from Ghazni,

## ABDUL'S WAR RUNS OUT OF WEAPONS

by Alex Brodie

SCMP 10/14

ABDUL HAI (40) was a farmer of fruit and wheat in northern Afghanistan when the Russians rolled down the road near his village by the Soviet border. Incensed, he started shooting at the convoy.

A few joined him, then a few more, and before long he became a local guerrilla leader. That was five years ago.

Now a guerrilla commander with 1,100 men, he has made his first trip outside Afghanistan since the Russians came.

He has come to Pakistan to look for money and weapons because he had heard that "the free world" was handing them out. He will return home empty-handed.

Abdul Hai and a few of his men, with a mule train, walked for 20 days from his home in Samangan province, across the Hindu Kush mountains, to the Pakistan frontier town of Peshawar, where the leaders of the Afghan exile parties are staying, and from where they dispense weapons to the fighters inside their country.

He and his men had been getting no help from Peshawar, he says, so he decided to come in person because "We have been hearing about aid to the Mujahideen (guerrillas) from the free world and the Islamic countries. We heard that they were giving money and new types of weapons."

He has soon discovered that the streets of Peshawar are not paved with the riches which he perhaps dreamed of. But Abdul Hai's needs were, to his mind, not great.

He came for heavy machine-guns, mortars and missiles. Although missiles are thin on the ground, the other weaponry is, in fact, available. Knowledgeable sources say there is no shortage, but Abdul Hai is getting none of it.

said harvests had been burned in three villages near Ghazni city, fields and orchards damaged in eight others and traditional underground irrigation canals known as *karez* blown up in three more.

Mr. Maulvi Shafullah, commander in the Koh-i-Safi area just northeast of Kabul, painted an even bleaker picture. "There is no farming in my area, all the fields are barren," he said.

After two weeks he is resigned to the failure of his mission. After long argument, he will get maybe two or three Kalashnikov rifles. "We don't need those. We can capture them," he says.

Abdul Hai's small corner of the war is unreported. The political machinations of the exile community, through which the guns come, are a closed book to him. With only a trace of bitterness he says: "The help from the outside world is meant for the Mujahideen not for the leaders."

There could be several reasons why his plea for weapons goes unanswered. The generals have their priorities.

Since the Kabul airport bomb at the end of August, the guerrillas have been throwing a lot of firepower at the capital, Kabul. There have been almost nightly rocket and mortar attacks for the past three weeks.

Abdul Hai is only one of many local commanders looking for the therewithal to shoot at helicopters. "If the guerrillas get the hardware to shoot down choppers, the war will change dramatically," says one.

Other more renowned commanders, like Ismael Khan in the western province of Herat, are also crying out for supplies.

Abdul Hai's war is financed by his own people. He says his guerrillas receive a tenth of the agricultural produce of the area which could explain the Kabul Government's apparent policy in the most rebellious parts of the land of destroying crops and cattle.

His guerrillas also receive an Islamic tax — Zakat — levied on some 3,000 landowners. Abdul Hai says he thus collects the equivalent of HK\$44,700 a year — \$40 per fighting man.

"We spend it on clothes — two sets a year for each guerrilla — shoes and turbans."

The money is administered by a treasurer and a financial committee.

He drew about \$2,950 for his Peshawar trip, in which he has been accompanied by 15 of his men.

Compared with some parts of Afghanistan, where the land has been scorched and the population uprooted, Abdul Hai's area is relatively unscarred.

However, he says that when he left five weeks ago, helicopters from just over the border had been bombing villages daily for 10 days.

"That's why we wanted missiles."

Islamabad, Sept. 20.  
A French journalist acting as guide for a Paris television crew ambushed in Afghanistan said today its leader was captured by Soviet troops and paraded as a prisoner in an Afghan town.

Hughes Delatude, a free-lance journalist travelling with the team from France's Antenne 2 network, said journalist Jacques Abouchar was in the ambush on Monday night and told his fleeing Afghan driver he could not run.

Informants for the Muslim resistance, which has been fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan since 1979, told Mr Delatude later they saw Mr Abouchar being driven on top of a Soviet tank toward the southern Afghan town of Spin Boldak.

"They seemed very sure of this information. I believe them," Mr Delatude said of the sources he met while waiting in the Pakistani border village of Chaman for news about Mr Abouchar.

Mr Delatude, speaking to Reuters by telephone from the Pakistani city of Quetta, said the four-man team was

ambushed in a desert about 25 km from the Pakistani border by tanks firing heavy machineguns. Nobody was hit but the crew and the Afghans accompanying it fled.

The crew's soundman and cameraman were slightly injured in the escape and reached Quetta on Tuesday.

SCMP 9/21

The colleagues — a cameraman, Jean-Louis Saborito, and a soundman, George Hansen — were flown from Pakistan by air ambulance to France earlier in the week. At a news conference in Paris, they said they were convinced that Government forces knew their planned movements in advance.

In its Persian-language service, monitored here, the Kabul radio said several people were killed or captured in the encounter. It did not mention charges against Mr. Abouchar but said he possessed "spying equipment."

The commentary also asserted that "foreign agents" were causing "a lot of problems" for the Soviet-backed Government in Kabul. It did not elaborate.

NYT 9/23

See also Kabul Chronology 9/23, 10/20, 10/26 & 10/27.

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — An Afghan "revolutionary court" has sentenced Jacques Abouchar, a French journalist, to 18 years in prison after convicting him of illegally entering the country and other charges, the state-run Kabul radio announced.

Mr. Abouchar, 53, who works for Antenne 2, one of France's three television networks, was captured Sept. 17 near the southern town of Spinboldak when the anti-Communist guerrilla group he was traveling with was ambushed by Afghan government and Soviet forces. Mr. Abouchar's cameraman and soundman escaped.

The state radio, in a broadcast monitored in Islamabad, said the court convicted Mr. Abouchar of "complicity with anti-revolutionary groups," "collecting information against Afghanistan," and illegal entry into the country.

The newscast said the court ruled Saturday that Mr. Abouchar entered Afghanistan to film "a clash between the Afghan security forces and bandits," the term used by the regime to describe the rebels.

Kabul radio said Mr. Abouchar was shown "leniency" by the court on "humanitarian grounds," and because the Afghan people have good relations with the French.

In Paris, the French government said it was "profoundly shocked" by the sentencing. The government is doing everything to obtain from Kabul authorities the liberation and immediate return to France of our compatriot," the Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

IHT 10/22

Paris (Reuters) — French television journalist Jacques Abouchar arrived home to a warm welcome on Saturday night after 40 days in captivity in Afghanistan and told of his capture, interrogation and detention in a tiny Kabul prison cell.

Looking tired but in good spirits, Abouchar was greeted as he stepped from the plane at Paris' Orly airport by his wife Francoise and Prime Minister Laurent Fabius.

Abouchar looked drawn and tired at the press conference, but bantered easily, and often wittily, about his experiences. The worst part of his detention, he said, came early on, with several days of almost non-stop questioning.

First, he was quizzed for three days by Soviet officials, who wanted him to confess to espionage activities. "They wanted me to give them the organisation chart of the CIA," he said.

His third night without sleep finally ended, he said, after a high-ranking officer plied him with Georgian alcohol, making him more tired than ever.

After five hours, he said, he told his cross-examiner: "Gospodin (Mister) Colonel, Jacques kaput."

"The Russian burst out laughing, ordered in a tray of supper, and raised his glass in a toast to Franco-Soviet friendship and Stalin," Abouchar said.

Then, he said, the Afghans took over, with 20 days of round-the-clock questioning, once again aimed at forcing him to recant his denials that he had spied. The Afghans made much, for example, of two bottles of mercurochrome, and said after examining the liquid that a "single drop . . . could kill 10 people."

He shared one cell 15 yards square with six other prisoners and a second cell 12 yards square with three others.

Abouchar said that when the Afghan authorities organised a news conference for him in Kabul they asked him to say he had not been captured by Soviet troops.

"But when you're arrested by six tanks and 60 vehicles and only one soldier is Afghan, that seems strange," he remarked.

He said he had not been mistreated.

His trial followed, and he was sentenced on October 20 to 18 years in jail for "illegal entry into Afghanistan with an armed group."

Although he never gave up hope, his sudden release came as "a slap in the face." His first suspicion of it was on Friday morning when he was moved to a cell where he had a television set and a bed with sheets for the first time in 40 days.

Among those at Orly airport was a delegation of the French Communist Party, which had joined in the condemnation of Kabul.

On Saturday a senior party official said the Soviet Union "had not behaved properly" in the affair — an unusual criticism seen by analysts here as indicating the party felt ridiculed.

The Communists had previously avoided all references to Soviet involvement in the Abouchar affair.

He said he had been given no idea of the anger that the sentence had sparked in France, and therefore had not been prepared for an early release.



Jacques Abouchar

There were marches calling for freedom of the press, frequent appeals by the Government and even several pleas by the pro-Soviet French Communist Party.

But this did not come close to the uproar that followed Abouchar's sentencing. To wit:

- The press greeted the news with blazing headlines, often several inches high, and often containing words such as "shame" and "outrage."

- Prime Minister Mr Laurent Fabius said he would boycott a reception to mark the 60th anniversary of French-Soviet relations.

- A "Committee for the Liberation of Jacques Abouchar" sprang up, calling the sentencing a "veritable declaration of war against the press."

- A French Socialist parliamentarian, visiting Moscow, angrily gave the Russians three days' from last Monday to set a date for Abouchar's release — a deadline that was ultimately met.

- The French Communist Party, in an unprecedented step, broke off ties with the Afghan party, a "fraternal" party.

- The European Parliament and West German Bundestag denounced the sentencing, and called for clemency.

The fierceness of the reaction threatened to cause lasting damage to French-Soviet relations, and it became clear that Kabul would soon relent.

by Judith Harris

AWSJ 10/24/84

KHYBER PASS, Pakistan — Where Alexander the Great marched his conquering army, Soviet planes now slide across the border from Afghanistan, where they took 30 lives in a two-week period of strafing last August.

But the real problem here, at the bleak mountain frontier between Afghanistan and the Western defense line, is the assault upon Pakistan by another enemy: heroin. Inevitably, the two problems—war and heroin—have become intertwined.

Until recently, Pakistan was growing most of the heroin consumed in the U.S. Its 1979 bumper opium crop of 800 tons has never been equaled anywhere. As Pakistani narcotics police cracked down in earnest and began plowing under opium fields, opium cultivation dwindled to one-fifth of the 1979 crop.

The poppy fields and the heroin refineries, however, retreated behind the border into Afghanistan. "This is no cottage industry," said a U.S. diplomat in Islamabad. "This is the big time and the big money, and Afghanistan is the perfect drug sanctuary." No one knows precisely how much, but today hundreds of tons of opium are being grown and refined in crude heroin stills inside Afghanistan. The heroin is smuggled into Pakistan hidden among fruit in the trucks that ply the Khyber in a steady stream, by camel and donkey caravan, by bicycle and on foot. The smugglers converge at the big Khyber border towns of Pakistan like Landi Kotal and Bara, which have been off-limits to all foreigners for the past 18 months.

As a result, Pakistan is "still the biggest heroin issue in the world today," according to Douglas Wankel, the U.S. drug enforcement administration chief in Islamabad. "From 60% to 80% of the heroin supply in the northeastern U.S. comes from here." Pakistani authorities claim that the Afghan regime of Babrak Karmal not only tolerates opium cultivation and refineries, but actively encourages them.

"Every effort was made to draw the drug traffic and the heroin labs inside the Afghan border," says Mairaj Husain, chairman of the Pakistan Narcotics Control Board. "The Soviets' aim was to destabilize the North-West Frontier Province." The NWFP is a Pakistani state about one-quarter the size of the nation. Part of it is administered by the regular Pakistani government, but part of it is administered locally. Thus in Soviet eyes, the NWFP is a sanctuary for the *Mujaheddin* of the Afghan resistance. Some three million Afghan refugees have fled into Pakistan from the war in Afghanistan, and all but half a million of them live in the NWFP in patched tents

and desolate improvised settlements built of mud.

Heroin, unlike opium, came to Pakistan only after Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini started sending alleged drug traffickers before firing squads in 1979. Well before the Iranian ban, however, the NWFP was a shelter for Pakistan's many hashish refineries. The hashish traffickers were drawn there because much of the huge province enjoys a form of tribal autonomy from Pakistan's central government, whose courts of law and police cannot enter the area freely, even to conduct investigations.

When Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq banned opium in Pakistan in 1979, opium growth and heroin distilleries first gravitated toward those tribal territories of the NWFP as a legal haven for what was elsewhere illegal activity.

Two of the three Pathan tribes who reside in the Khyber Pass area of Pakistan quickly became involved in the heroin traffic after 1980: the Afridis, by tradition truckers and bus drivers; and the Shinwaris, who have a reputation as shrewd businessmen. Both tribes have kin and property on both sides of the border, which they cross at will and without papers. And both have long been smugglers, particularly of weapons, livestock, wheat and consumer products.

"For them, it was always a way of life," said Peshawar's chief of police, Dil Jan Khan. "In their own territory it was not viewed as smuggling, however. Selling arms, for instance, became smuggling only when they left their tribal territory." Afghanistan entered the picture because of a 1965 trade agreement that allowed goods arriving by sea for landlocked Afghanistan to dock at the port of Karachi and proceed, duty-free, overland to Afghanistan. Most reached the NWFP capital, Peshawar, by train and then were trucked up the Khyber toward Kabul. But up to three-quarters of the merchandise was simply turned right around to reenter Pakistan, having evaded payment of the otherwise high Pakistani duties.

Many years before the Soviets occupied Afghanistan, in other words, a well-oiled smuggling route linked the two countries. Heroin simply became the most recent and the most profitable commodity run by the Pathan tribesmen.

It would be easy to urge the Pakistani government simply to change its laws, decreeing less tribal autonomy on its side of the border. But if Pakistan presses too hard, it risks fanning longstanding Pathan irredentism. An upsurge of the latent independence movement would only play into Moscow's hands. Informed opinion is mixed on whether the Soviets really exploit this by trying to destabilize the NWFP for this very reason. A British journalist who managed to reach Bara in September reports an offer of 150 kilograms of heroin from

a notorious smuggler who related that a Soviet agent had made him promises of "money and arms" to form an anti-resistance militia.

But some Western and a few Pakistani high officials are skeptical of such reports. They argue that the frontier area on the Afghan side is no easier for the Soviets to control than for Pakistan.

The Afghan regime for its part complains that guerrilla groups enjoy protection in Pakistan and that it is they who foster the heroin traffic by swapping heroin for arms. In January a 10-party Pakistani opposition coalition, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, specifically accused the Afghan refugees of trafficking in heroin. A U.S. diplomat conceded that some Afghan truckers, exploiting their refugee status, had been apprehended transporting narcotics by truck to India, one key supply line toward the West.

Such charges deeply anger the Afghan resistance leaders. They are willing to concede that "a very few" minor groups have swapped arms for drugs. "But the resistance is very careful to do nothing that might destabilize Pakistan. Our destiny is here," says Touryalay Osman, a former Afghan diplomat in Rome who is now in exile in Peshawar.

"If the Russians thought for a moment we were really financing our war with drug money," he said, "they would seek out our poppy fields and destroy them instantly: Soviet helicopters bomb everywhere, down to the hayfields. They spare only the Shinwari territory inside Afghanistan. And, not coincidentally, the Shinwaris are the only tribe which collaborates with the Karmal regime." The Afridi tribe did cooperate in recent months with the Pakistani government, largely because heroin addiction had swept its own villages. "Even the cows were getting addicted—from drinking water that had been used in the heroin stills," said Gale Day, head of a United Nations crop substitution project in Pakistan.

Western and Pakistani officials agree with the resistance leaders, however, that the 300,000-strong Shinwari tribe is still the one most deeply involved in heroin manufacture and distribution.

As for the Afghan refugees, the most persuasive evidence that they are only peripherally involved in the colossal heroin traffic through the NWFP lies in a handwritten ledger kept in the regional Narcotics Control Board office at Peshawar. It lists every drug seizure made in the province. Of 120 seizures in the first quarter of this year, only six involved Afghan refugees.

#### A Tradition of Gunsmithery

Then, too, the Afghan guerrillas have relatively little need for purchased weapons. In addition to whatever American aid they doubtless receive, they have their own centuries-old tradition of gunsmithery, and copies of the weapons they manufacture are snapped up by collectors the world over. "We also capture

arms from the Soviets and have weapons turned over to us by defecting Afghan conscripts," a resistance chieftain told me.

Even were the Soviets to decide to stop the poppy growth, many doubt they could carry it out. If Mr. Karmal were to deal harshly with poppy-growing tribes on his frontier with Pakistan (and war and chaos anywhere will foster the raising of an easy cash crop), he too would increase his problems in dealing with the tribes. Benign neglect is almost his only policy choice.

The result is a situation of utter stall, in which neither Pakistan nor Afghanistan can make a decisive move, and the heroin traffic flourishes in a political no-man's land.

In any case, the narcotics traffic is a two-edged sword. In the past six months Pakistani and American drug enforcers have been hearing that Soviet soldiers trade personal possessions—"belts, boots, guns and bottles of vodka"—for marijuana and heroin, which they smoke mixed with tobacco. These cigarettes cost the equivalent of 35 cents each in Afghanistan and, according to an Italian businessman who trades in the Soviet Union, \$10 each in Moscow. This gives substance to rumors of Soviet war dead arriving in coffins concealing heroin.

*Ms. Harris is a free-lance writer based in Rome. She is currently working on a book about international heroin traffic.*

## PAKISTANI BORDER AREA AWAITS AIR ATTACKS by William Claiborne in the INT 10/8

**TERI MANGAL, Pakistan** — Although it bristles with Pakistani anti-aircraft guns, the Kurram Valley on the border with Afghanistan is bracing itself for new Afghan Air Force bombardments.

As Afghan rebels loaded pack horses with artillery shells and other supplies for reprisal raids against Soviet and Afghan troops in the adjacent Pakia province of Afghanistan late last week, they said they expected their successes against the forces of President Babrak Karmal of Afghanistan would result in new cross-border air raids into the Pakistani territory.

The Moslem rebels, or Mujahidin, said they doubted whether the conventional Pakistani air defense guns surrounding this border outpost would be effective against Soviet MiG fighter-bombers.

But they said that they intended to continue their attacks in Pakia, where Western diplomatic sources estimate that two regiments totaling 12,000 to 14,000 Soviet troops have been deployed in an effort to stop cross-border guerrilla raids.

On Sept. 27, this remote guerrilla staging base was rocked by nighttime explosions that destroyed sev-

eral guerrilla hostels in a crowded bazaar and killed 32 insurgents.

The Teri Mangal outpost was shelled and bombed at least nine times between Aug. 13 and 24, and there have been frequent air strikes against other villages in this rugged Pathan tribal district about 50 miles (80 kilometers) from the Afghan capital of Kabul.

Teri Mangal, about 110 miles west of the Northwest Frontier Province capital of Peshawar, is at the tip of a finger of Pakistani territory that juts into Afghanistan near where Pakia and Nangarhar provinces meet.

Pakistani officials say there have been more than 40 shelling and air bombardments of Pakistani territory, causing more than 130 deaths. In August alone, they said, 54 persons were killed.

Also citing frequent violations of Pakistani airspace by Afghan Air Force warplanes, Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan told the United Nations General Assembly last week that "Pakistan has so far acted with restraint and it hopes that the concern of the international community over the continuation of such attacks and their dangerous consequences would compel those responsible to desist from further aggression."

Because of the remoteness of this border outpost and an absence of effective communications, there were conflicting reports about the Sept. 27 explosions.

Afghan guerrillas insisted in interviews that they heard the sound of a diving jet airplane moments before the explosions destroyed mud brick structures. They said the village was brightly lit by parachute flares.

Zain Uddin, 22, of Logar Province in Afghanistan, said he was standing on a hilltop overlooking the bazaar when he heard "the noise of a plane in the darkness, and then some big explosions."

Mr. Uddin, who said he was leaving in two hours for a guerrilla raid in Logar Province, said that while a 10-square-mile (25-square-kilometer) area was lit by flares, the bombing appeared to have been from a fairly high altitude.

A week after the explosions, there was evidence of heavy damage in the bazaar and at least 30 freshly dug graves in a nearby "martyrs' cemetery."

A large crater was all that remained of what guerrillas said was a mud-brick "hotel," and another building nearby had been completely flattened.

However, although spokesmen for the Pakistani government said that the explosions were caused by aerial bombardment, the circumstances of the reporting of the incident have raised questions that the bombs could have been planted on the ground.

Radio Afghanistan has claimed that the explosions were caused by

fact.

A Pakistani official, who asked not to be identified, noted that the initial report of the incident mentioned only "explosions" and that only four hours later was there a reference to an aircraft. The official suggested bombs could have been planted by agents of Khad, the secret service of the Babrak government.

However, in nearby Parachinar, Sang-e-Marjan, political agent of the Kurram tribal district, said: "It was a bombardment. We have found nobody who said this was done by Khad agents."

A guerrilla, Ghaffar Khan, 35, estimated that 4,000 to 5,000 armed Mujahidin were in Teri Mangal that night. He said that the bombing was in retaliation for a guerrilla attack eight days earlier against a Soviet and Afghan Army convoy in Chakar Malang, in which he said 300 government and Soviet troops were killed.

He said that more than 2,000 guerrillas remain here now, the rest having left for reprisal attacks across the border.

Although tribal agency police are constantly present in Teri Mangal, the ostensible refugee camp is clearly a staging base for guerrilla raids across the border, which lies just outside the village's built-up area.

Pack horses loaded with wooden crates containing mortar shells and ammunition for machine guns and Chinese-made assault rifles could be seen winding their way in daylight up the main dirt path through the village and toward the Afghan border.

Guerrillas armed with Kalashnikov rifles and wearing bandoliers of cartridges readied their gear and talked about the missions they said they were about to embark on.

Most of the rickety shops in the bazaar look like army surplus stores, selling rifles, ammunition, knapsacks, canteens and combat boots.

Pakistan's president, General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, has consistently refused to acknowledge responsibility for the cross-border raids into Afghanistan, saying that if the Soviet Union thinks that the winding, rugged border between the two countries can be sealed, then they should do it.

Given the nominal control that the Pakistani government exerts in the traditionally autonomous tribal areas of the Northwest Frontier and the delicate relationship between independent Pathan tribesmen and the central government, there appears little likelihood that Pakistan will take on the task.

There are 280,000 Afghan refugees in the Kurram district, slightly more than the indigenous population. Most of the locals, predominantly of the Turk tribe, have relatives just across the border and routinely walk or ride across for visits or even seasonal living.

## VIDEOTAPE

Raffaele Favero, an Italian-born cameraman, had spent over 11 months in Afghanistan before being killed at Urgun in Pakia on 10/10/83. After his death his Australian wife & their 3 children returned to Afghanistan to clarify the circumstances surrounding Favero's death.

All of this is the subject of a 48-minute TV documentary, "Frontline Afghanistan." Information on the tape is available from Robert Furlong, Christopher Enterprises, Ltd., 210 Christopher St. Montclair, NJ 07042 (201-744-0377).

## UCLA doctor tries to help

By PAT ALSTON  
Evening Outlook Staff Writer

They've always been rugged, fiercely independent people striving to cope with the harsh terrain of their country.

But now war has handed the Afghans a cruel set of new problems: They're starving to death; their babies are dying of meningitis and malaria; their children are losing arms and legs to "toy" bombs.

A million Afghans have died since Soviet troops invaded the country five years ago, according to UCLA physician Robert R. Simon. Entire villages have been wiped out, and cities have been turned into vast graveyards.

Terrorized families have watched in horror as their youngsters were doused with kerosene and set on fire — one limb at a time — or as their elderly parents were forced to stand barefoot in sub-zero temperatures until frostbite destroyed their feet.

Freedom fighters, who still manage to hold on to 85 percent of the country, have suffered "horrible wounds and agonizing pain" for their efforts, Simon said.

Their agony is magnified because there are no medical supplies, and hundreds of miles between physicians.

Most of the wounded and ill simply don't make it.

It's a "medical crisis," said Simon, the first American physician to work his way into war-torn Afghanistan.

"The situation is quite horrible," he said. "If you're wounded, you'll die. It's that simple."

Simon, founder of International Medical Corps, which provides emergency medical aid for people in crisis, has mounted a campaign to raise the consciousness of Americans as well as the funds needed to establish and maintain medical-surgical clinics in Afghanistan.

Earlier this year, he sold his

Malibu home to finance the first portable medical unit, which he established in May in Kunar province, just east of the Afghan capital of Kabul.

But it's going to take about \$1.9 million a year to provide and maintain the eight clinics needed to supply adequate medical aid to the injured and disease-ridden Afghans, Simon said. The corps also needs commitments from American nurses and doctors who are willing to

spend three to six months in Afghanistan to train staff in emergency medical care.

If Americans knew the suffering and pain these courageous people have endured, they would flock to help, Simon said.

But mention "Afghanistan," he said, and most people shrug and say, "Where's that?"

"You ask American people who Vanessa Williams is and everybody knows," he said of the former Miss America whose nude photographs appeared in a national magazine.

"You ask American people where Afghanistan is and nobody knows."

Centuries-old Afghanistan has been around a lot longer than the felled beauty queen, Simon pointed out. The country's war with the Soviet Union has raged for five years. Yet, most Americans still remain ignorant of the Afghans' struggle for freedom.

Because independent journalists, as well as representatives of the International Red Cross, were forced out of the country, and no United Nations organization or relief agency was allowed in, "no one really knew what was going on there," said Simon, assistant professor of emergency medicine and assistant director of the Residency Training Program at UCLA's Emergency Medicine Center.

Slowly, reports began trickling out of "induced food starvation" in a country that has "never had a food shortage," and a Soviet drive to force the Afghans into submission through a variety of terror tactics that have included the execution of nearly 200 physicians and the torture of young and old.

"There was no health care, no medical supplies," he said.

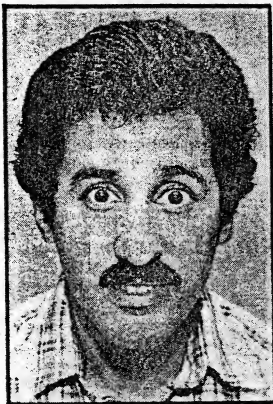
Many infants died as a result of contagious diseases such as measles, tuberculosis and cholera.

"We decided we had to do something," said Simon. His group works with the Afghans "to help them help themselves," he stressed.

In May, Simon made the trip to Afghanistan, where he backpacked his way over rugged mountain terrain and across bomb-riddled rivers until he reached a hideaway in Kunar province. There he set up the first portable medical-surgical clinic in the country: a few tents tucked as unobtrusively as possible between two mountain ranges.

During the next few weeks, he saw about 90 patients a day, three-quarters of them surgical patients and the rest medical patients.

Simon's "ambulances" — a pair of devoted mules nicknamed Kabul 1 and Kabul 2 — carried the most critically wounded villagers to the medical unit. But most patients had



ROBERT R. SIMON  
... UCLA physician

to walk, and many never made it.

He saw young men whose faces had been ripped apart by shrapnel or whose legs had been blown off when they volunteered for the "mine detector" detail.

He saw children whose bodies had been burned limb by limb until their parents agreed to drop their resistance to Soviet troops, toddlers who had lost arms when they picked up a pretty "butterfly" or toy "truck" that turned out to be bombs, babies who had starved to death.

Yet through it all, the Afghans have retained their courage, he said.

"These people are the most courageous, most outstanding people I've ever seen," said 34-year-old Simon, whose poor Lebanese parents "knew what it was like" to live under similarly difficult conditions.

It's that courage that keeps Simon involved in the Afghans' struggle for survival as an independent nation.

"These are the only people who have mounted a significant effort to ward off the Soviets," he said.

As a physician and an American, he's determined to help them succeed.

For additional information about the International Medical Corps, write to P.O. Box 49525, LA 90049.



**DOMINATED** by Mir Samir, a towering, snow-capped peak on the southern fringe of the Hindu Kush mountains, the refugees struggle to negotiate the steep, rocky corridor that leads to the top of the 14,000-foot mountain pass.

There are some 500 refugees in the caravan, most of them Kandari nomads fleeing their flat, desert homeland in Kunduz province, which borders the Soviet Union.

Repeated Soviet air and ground assaults on their homes and livestock as well as conscription drives by the Afghan Army, they explain, have made it impossible for them to stay.

Over the past two or three years, Red Army troops have also increasingly blocked the more traditional passes for weeks or months on end.

This has forced Afghans to seek alternate overland routes for their caravans such as this treacherous highland trail.

Flanked by women in embroidered red dresses and dark shawls shepherding children, some of them barefoot, the men prod reluctant horses, donkeys, and dromedaries into climbing the final few yards.

Ominously strewn among the boulders on either side are the decomposing bodies of animals that have slipped and fallen.

Once over, the refugees gingerly descend the several thousand feet to the inviting pastures of Pashal Valley below.

For nearly four hours last August 17, I watched, together with a CBS-TV crew, as the straggling caravan laden with tea kettles, pots, rugs, and tents crept through the narrow gap.

Apart from the shrill whistles and shouts of the drivers or the occasional roar of an affronted camel, the only other sound to mar the tranquility of the warm and sunny afternoon was the constant drone of a Soviet Antonov reconnaissance plane.

Making our way down the Panjshir, we continued to see and hear the planes for several days as they returned to bomb and strafe both sides of the pass where further groups of refugees were still trying to cross.

The attacks were always obediently followed by the two-propeller Antonov dispatched from Baghram to in-

spect the damage, which, according to resistance reports reaching us in the valley, involved heavy losses.

Some 10 days later, I returned to the Chamar area. Trekking at night (both refugees and mujahideen, or holy warriors, were now only crossing after dark), I encountered the first signs of tragedy several miles before the pass in the form of half a dozen dead camels and horses.

By dawn, I reached the top of the Chamar to discover that the MiGs had also attacked the tail-end of the very column we had previously watched.

In both cases, herdsmen and partisans camping nearby maintained, the refugees had been badly hit.

But the most devastating was an attack on August 18 that lasted 1½ hours in the Pashal Valley itself. Having reached the valley floor by early evening the day before, the nomads had pitched a sprawling camp by the side of the river.

Shortly after first light, the Antonov appeared and made several passes over their distinctive black tents, smoking fires, and grazing animals before returning to base.

Few Afghans recognise the danger of reconnaissance aircraft and rarely take necessary precautions. No one bothered to hide.

The MiGs took the refugees completely by surprise. Appearing at 10 am, the swing-wing fighters first unloaded two bombs each, believed to be 500-pounders, and then made repeated runs firing rockets and strafing with their 23-mm Gatling guns.

Nine women and five children were killed instantly and more than 60 injured, many of them severely.

Overall, by the time the Soviets completed their attacks in the area, at least 40 refugees had died.

"It was horrible," said Hajji Saduddin, a highly-respected village leader from Bazarak in the Panjshir who had been hiding out for several months with a group of families further down the valley. Appalled, they had watched the raid and then rushed up to the camp to help.

"We have seen a lot of war, but nothing like this," said Mr Saduddin. "People were screaming and lying all around. Many had lost their hands, their feet, arms, and legs. The tents were burning and there was an awful smell in the air."

The signs of carnage later witnessed by this correspond-

ent lent only partial testimony as to the ruthlessness of the onslaught.

Dozens of mutilated animal cadavers, twisted metal pots, scorched clothing, torn saddles, and a tattered boy's slingshot littered the ground, itself churned by shrapnel or ripped in long furrows by machine-gun bullets.

With the little they had, the Panjshiris helped treat the victims. Later, they buried the dead in a yawning bomb crater, covering the bodies with a tarpaulin and then piling stones on top in the Muslim manner.

A single prayer flag, a piece of green, pink, and orange cloth hanging from a wooden tent pole, and an inscription headed by a quote from the Koran recorded the massacre.

More refugees died of their wounds and were buried on their journey through the mountains to Pakistan, where the first survivors were expected to arrive by late September.

For more than two years, numerous reports have emerged concerning a systematic terror campaign by the Soviet occupation forces against non-combatants.

More recently, this has included deliberate attacks on civilians already trying to leave the country. While travelling through northeastern Afghanistan this summer, I encountered numerous refugees with tales of bombings and strafings.

Rarely have outside observers been in the position to confirm such assaults. Considering that the reconnaissance plane had been tracking the refugees for several days, it is almost impossible that the Soviets could have mistaken them for mujahideen or a supply caravan.

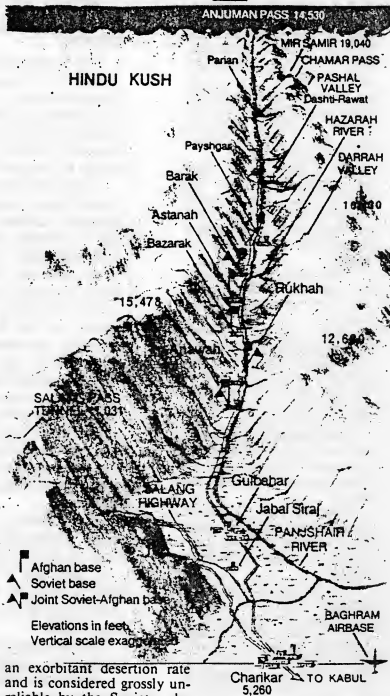
One can also assume that after nearly five years of occupation, Soviet intelligence analysts are suitably informed to make such distinctions.

Not only were the women and children wearing bright colours, but the style of tents and the variety of animals including herds of sheep and goats could only suggest civilians.

The Soviets have consistently denied that they are responsible for such atrocities.

The Red Army's "limited contingent" (at least 110,000 troops) in Afghanistan, the Soviets normally maintained, is only serving with the Afghan Army on a support or advisory basis and is not directly involved in the struggle against "counter-revolutionaries."

In reality, the Afghan Army still largely suffers from



an exorbitant desertion rate and is considered grossly unreliable by the Soviets who must take the brunt of the fighting.

If refugee accounts are to be believed, then the Pashal attack has been only one of many.

The arrival of its survivors in Pakistan should enable the International Committee of the Red Cross or the United Nations to conduct a thorough investigation into this gruesome expansion of Moscow's already widespread policy of "migratory genocide."

Furthermore, while the International Red Cross has been performing a valuable service for injured Afghans through its specialised war casualty hospitals in Pakistan, the Pashal and other testimony should at last prompt some form of direct intervention in favour of the civilian population.

Until now, the Swiss humanitarian agency has failed to obtain access to Afghanistan since a visit of dubious credibility to Kabul's Puli Charkhi prison in the summer of 1982.

But the deliberate bombing of refugees is but one aspect of Moscow's hardening repression of non-combatants.

"Basically, the Soviets have launched what is for them a very easy war against the people," observed a recently returned doctor of Aide Medicale Internationale, a Paris-based medical organisation operating relief missions inside Afghanistan. "It has become a tragic situation. The economic structures are so fragile that if the people lose a little, they lose everything. Unable to survive, their only choice is to leave."

Soviet tactics are now aimed at totally destroying the civilian infrastructure — farms, houses, bazaars, mosques, schools, and clinics — in zones where resistance fronts have been particularly well-organised.

"It does not take much to realise what the Russians are trying to do," added a spokesman of the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan in Peshawar, Pakistan, another organisation involved in direct relief operations to the interior.

"They are turning every region that does not bend to their will into a wasteland."

With relentless perseverance, Soviet planes and helicopter troops have sought to hunt down dissenting civil-

Cont. from previous page  
ians while threatening nearby populations with reprisals if they in any way aid or abet both guerrillas and refugees.

In numerous areas, the land lies deserted. Whole villages have been transformed into uninhabitable ghost settlements through the bombing and looting of houses, the burning of crops, and the cutting off of valuable water supplies by rupturing or mining their irrigation canals.

"You can't believe how sad it makes me to see my country like this," said Mehmed Ali, a former hotel employee from Kabul and a member of the Panjshair resistance.

"This used to be a beautiful country. A poor country, but a very beautiful one. Now look at it."

Most relief workers and observers who have visited Afghanistan recently say the next few months will be crucial for areas such as Paghman, Parwan, Badakhshan, Fariab, and Nangarhar.

Nevertheless, the urgency of the Afghan predicament continues to be ignored by most governments and aid groups.

The vast bulk of present international assistance goes to Pakistan's refugees, estimated at more than three million.

To the irritation of many resistance fronts but the encouragement of certain fundamentalist Afghan and Pakistani groups, for example, much Arab money is being lavished on expensive new mosques and Koranic schools among the refugee camps rather than on more vital food, clothing, and medication for the interior.

The principal relief agency, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, must, by nature of its charter, restrict itself to refugee rather than internal aid.

But the lack of action by other organisations to assist those inside is likely to result in further influxes of refugees.

I encountered between 100 and 500 Afghans a day fleeing the country, mainly from the northern frontier provinces which until recently have produced a relatively light exodus.

"Afghan Trek - Traveling 850 miles on foot with guerrillas & army deserters amid war" by Edward Girardet appears in the 12/5 CSM.

## NAKE KAMRANY is interviewed in the Univ. of Southern California's Daily Trojan 10/29:

By Andrew Thomas  
Staff Writer

The Soviet Union has been defeated in Afghanistan, said Nake Kamrany, a professor of economics at the university and one of the ten scholars nationwide who is involved in a study of Afghanistan.

"The Soviets have no other choice than to seek a political solution, unless they want to kill a majority of the people," Kamrany said, but he said he is not sure the Soviets will be able to accept defeat.

The year-long study, sponsored by the Department of Defense, addresses the question of why the Afghans continue to resist the Soviets.

The key, says Kamrany, is that "the Soviets are trying to change the value system of the people," who view the invaders as atheists and consider their own resistance a Jihad, or holy war.

In addition, the Afghans have historically resisted attack by foreign forces.

"They put a high value to their freedom and therefore will fight to the end," Kamrany said.

The implications of the Soviet defeat are worldwide, he said.

When the Soviets seek diplomatic solutions, "the Afghans

will say to just get out," which means the Soviets will have to give up their goal of gaining a warm-water port, he said.

Kamrany, a native of Afghanistan, has also participated in a five-year survey in which he evaluated over 15,000 published reports about Afghanistan. The survey was initiated by the Association for Afghanistan Studies and sponsored by the university's National Endowment for the Humanities.

Kamrany spent five summers doing fieldwork in Afghan border areas.

"I wanted to see what happened to my people," he said.

Kamrany publishes a small newspaper, *Afghanistan Times*, which covers the situation in Afghanistan as well as news about Afghans who have immigrated to the United States. Since he pays for the paper himself and has very little production assistance, the paper — which is distributed to various Afghan groups in Southern California — is published only "occasionally."

As an economist, Kamrany is particularly interested in the economic implications of the

war. He said Afghanistan is different from many countries, because it is not industrialized.

"In America, capital goods are computers, but in Afghanistan, the capital goods are cows and donkeys," he said.

Historically, the time it takes for a country to recover from a war has decreased, but this trend does not apply to Afghanistan because what the Soviets destroy there cannot quickly be rebuilt.

"A more advanced country is more susceptible to defeat because they have more to lose," Kamrany said.

He said that to weaken Afghan resistance and convert the people to Marxism, the Soviets have inflicted catastrophic damages on the country. Kamrany said one-third of the nation's population has fled the country in what he calls "migratory genocide."



NAKE KAMRANY

ED BATT/DAILY TROJAN

# A Telling Tale: With Sweets for Protection, Afghan Guerrillas Blunder Through a 'Raid'

By FREDERICK KEMPE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
GHAZNI, Afghanistan—This is the story of 25 Afghan guerrillas who risked their lives to infiltrate a Soviet-controlled city without a plan of attack or adequate means of escape.

It is a fairly typical tale of how easily guerrillas can slip behind Soviet lines but also of how ill-equipped they are to make full use of that advantage. Despite military advances in a few areas the Afghanistan resistance still lacks the central command structure, discipline, efficiency and weapons to pose the Soviets a consistent threat.

Five years after the Russian invasion, guerrillas shoot down the odd helicopter and knock out Kabul's electricity with regularity. But French doctors and other Westerners who travel extensively inside Afghanistan say the rebels still walk into ambushes because of poor forward scouting, waste scarce ammunition due to improper training, and only rarely coordinate attacks in ways that would stretch Soviet defenses.

On this particular evening, Commander Amin Wardak's Ghazni unit—a group he considers his best men—appeared more like Keystone Kops with Kalashnikovs (Russian semiautomatic rifles). Only the potentially fatal consequences of their blunders, and the sickening destruction of the setting, robbed the experience of its humor.

## Start With a Prayer

As is usual, the guerrillas begin their nighttime attack in this Soviet-occupied city with an early afternoon prayer meeting at their nearby mountain hideout.

Resistance fighters sit cross-legged and listen with differing degrees of attention to a mullah, their white-bearded chaplain, as he reads from the Koran in Arabic, which none of these Pashto-speakers understands. A teenager fiddles with his bare foot through a split in his worn leather boots. The pock-marked face of a former Afghan government army officer beside him is frozen in a snarl. Most of the others stare blankly ahead, relaxed in their boredom.

The mullah finishes reading and blesses bowls full of hard candy. Each guerrilla fills his pockets. "Take many," one insists. "The mullah says they will protect you."

So with sweets gathering fluff in their pockets and rifles and rocket-propelled grenade launchers strapped across their backs, the guerrillas set out. Golum Moustafa, their leader, promises action. He brags about a rocket attack on an Afghan police station several days earlier and a far more impressive strike just two weeks earlier at a Soviet helipoint.

## 'Never Miss'

Depending on which guerrilla one talks to, 30 to 80 Soviet soldiers were killed on this occasion and one to four helicopters were destroyed. They all agree that no guerrilla died. "The number of attacks we make depends only upon the amount of ammunition we can get," Golum Moustafa says. "We can't think of long-term military objectives because we can't depend on supplies."

Rosih Akhmad, 17, carries one of three rocket-propelled grenade launchers for tonight's attack. It is this group's best-loved and most potent weapon—easy to carry, simple to use but accurate only over a range of 200 yards. "It kicks very strong," Rosih says. "It feels so good to shoot it, and I never miss."

He can't afford to miss: He has only two rockets and must assume that the Soviet or Afghan army will retaliate with considerably more. Guerrillas say each of their rockets is answered by an enemy storm of several hours, hence the importance of the speedy retreat and a waiting getaway car.

The vehicle, a Soviet-made jeep, waits at the foot of the mountain. The driver shows off his government tax license while the fighters give him a push start. They leap on board, some climbing onto the roof and others hanging precariously off the sides. One on the hood blocks the driver's vision.

The jeep stops an hour's walk from town. At sundown, guerrillas march in alone or in twos, wearing coats or blankets to hide their weapons. They pass within 300 yards of Soviet and Afghan observation posts.

The scenes of destruction grow worse nearer the town. Of the two thousand families that once lived on the outskirts of Ghazni, only 100 to 200 remain, guerrillas say. Mohammad Sadiq Egbal takes a short detour with a few guerrillas to visit what remains of his family home, once one of the area's grandest. The mulberry and apple trees in the large courtyard lay dead and twisted. Neatly painted wooden window and door frames are all that remain intact, looking oddly perfect underneath fractured and eroding walls and beside a chaos of rubble that was the roof.

## Guerrillas' Graves

He shows a path outside where his children once played (all three escaped the attack without injury). Now the gentle slope they once rolled down is branded by rectangular rock piles marking guerrillas' graves.

At dark, Mohammad Sadiq is unable to find the rest of the unit. He waits at a preappointed place only three hundred yards from the airport and watches Soviet helicopters land. Eight Soviet tanks patrol the perimeter and quickly flank the landing choppers. The 17-year-old, Rosih, eagerly trains his rocket launcher on a heli-

copter. "First we must know the plan," Mohammad Sadiq scolds him.

He briefly risks being seen by switching on a small flashlight to look for fresh footprints. He traces some to a farmhouse five minutes' walk away. Golum Moustafa's troops are eating rice.

An hour passes. The guerrillas finally collect outside, and argue. One insists that their weapons are insufficient for a strike and urges retreat. Another argues that they took some risk to come into town and can't leave without an attack. A third says they are already tired, it is late, and they should leave.

The commander asks this reporter what he'd prefer. He shrugs off responsibility and offers no advice. The commander tells his guerrillas they will return two nights later with more rockets. The sounds of nearby fighting break the cold night's silence as they reach the jeep.

But the night isn't over yet. The getaway car refuses to start. They push it forward and backward, trying to coax it. They fiddle with wire connections, toy with the distributor, inspect the air filter, then push it again. Everyone has a theory, and each is explored without success.

"I'm sorry," Mohammad Sadiq says. "These people do not know mechanical things so well."

After an hour and a half, the driver suddenly deduces that he has run out of gas. The guerrillas locate a motorcycle and siphon out some fuel. The jeep burps, then starts. It carries them to a village where they sleep the few remaining hours of the night.

The next morning, the guerrillas breakfast on their hard candies and green tea. Then they start the long walk back to their mountain hideout—and the drawing board.

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Reports by Frederick Kempe also appeared in the 11/12 & 11/14 WSJ, as well as on the next page.



# DIGGING IN - AFGHAN GUERRILLAS NOW FIGHT SOCIAL PROBLEMS IM- PERILING RESISTANCE WSJ 12/18

By FREDERICK KEMPE

**Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL**  
AKHTOON, Afghanistan—Twenty-three small boys sit beneath the yellowing leaves of a mulberry tree, obediently reciting their daily lessons. When weather permits, they work outside, the better to hear approaching Soviet aircraft. Then they race for cover in a nearby trench—spacing themselves far apart so that no one explosion could kill them all.

Such alerts have scattered the students four times this year, and no one has been hurt. However, the bombs do feed the children's hatred: After a quiet day's studies, the young voices scream the closing prayer:

*"Death to the Soviets,  
Death to the Communist Party...  
Allah, help us kill our enemies!"*

The school, which is one of 10 that Amin Wardak, a commander in the Afghan resistance, opened this year, is the latest weapon in the vital nonmilitary war over Afghanistan.

The problem is clear: Although Afghan commanders control three-fourths of the countryside and attack Soviet and government targets with increasing success, they have done little to reverse growing illiteracy, to prevent famine or to reduce extraordinarily high infant-mortality rates. Until such problems are treated, they will be unable to end the despair that has driven out more than a fourth of the nation as refugees primarily to Pakistan and to Iran.

## Soviet Strategy

Afghan commanders and Western diplomats now believe the Soviets rely more on people's desperation than on conventional military means to defeat the resistance. They cite as proof the bombing of crops during harvest and the destruction of irrigation systems, the bombing of schools and the Communist reeducation of thousands of young Afghans each year in the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the Soviets have only sporadically tried to occupy the countryside they are bombing.

U.S. diplomats fear that if nothing is done to address this Soviet strategy, Moscow could eventually pacify Afghanistan and then gain more freedom of action elsewhere in the world. It might then rid itself of an Afghanisthan problem that is costing it nearly \$3 billion annually and that has harmed its relations with Third World countries, most of which condemn the Soviet occupation.

"It is far better to build another school than blow up another Soviet tank," says Cmdr. Wardak, who wants to open 25 more schools next year. "The Soviets don't plan to take Afghanistan quickly. Little by little, they want the people to be obliged to accept their government or leave. We want to provide an alternative. Until we do that, we can't be a serious threat to the Soviets."

Cmdr. Wardak, 34, is one of the most influential leaders in the guerrilla-controlled

Wardak province, southeast of Kabul, from which his family long ago took its name. Speaking in French, he inspects blueprints for health care and irrigation systems with the enthusiasm other generals might reserve for the battlefield.

## Averting Death

He currently is supervising an immunization campaign to prevent the deaths of hundreds of children each winter from measles and whooping cough. His guerrillas also are building a hospital, half of it safely dug 60 feet deep in the side of a mountain. It is to be staffed by volunteer French doctors from the private agency *Medicins du Monde*.

He is smuggling in three tractors and an agriculture expert to ensure that the resistance isn't starved into submission. He also has helped establish a judicial system, local administrative councils, a newspaper and even a "donkey express"—a postal service with its own stamps.

Such efforts are belated, halting and not yet copied universally by an extremely splintered resistance. Guerrillas also find it difficult to defend farmlands, schools and hospitals. Nevertheless, more commanders each day choose a similar course. Some of the most prominent are Zabihullah of Mazar-i-Sharif province, Ismail Khan of Herat and Mohammed Shah of Farah Province.

## To Stay and Fight

"They see we can't win the war militarily," Cmdr. Wardak says. "We must dig in and give people reason to stay and fight. . . . Perhaps we can then drive the price of occupation too high for the Soviets and hope for wider global changes to assist us."

Agreeing with this strategy, several private aid groups are increasing their projects inside the country and chiding those who only help people who have fled. For example, the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan is providing pencils and books, the British Afghan Aid Committee is buying four-wheel drive vehicles for an ambulance service and the Afghan-run Union Aid for Afghan Refugees is starting first-aid training for guerrillas.

"The West must give more help to those who dare stay inside Afghanistan," says Christian Prost of *Gaule European du Raid*, a French expeditionary group that also provides humanitarian aid. "Acting too much to help refugees is to play the game of the Soviets," by encouraging Afghans to give up the fight and leave the country.

The most pressing concern is food. A group of 15 private European organizations that are providing aid to the Afghan resistance has reported that 10 regions (about one-fourth of the country) are in imminent danger of famine. A report sponsored by the British Afghan Aid Committee cites increased child mortality and a catastrophic drop in agricultural production to a level only 11% of that before the invasion. Some people, in panic, are hoarding the small amounts of food available, leaving little for poorer people who can't afford the prices.

"There are very acute signs of severe societal stress and impending famine," says Frances D'Souza, the report's author. "If there is no food in the country, people cannot continue to fight the war."

Mohammed Rasoul, 42, is the tired, toothless proof of Afghanistan's declining agriculture. His leathery face is deeply wrinkled, and his body bent. "Farming becomes more difficult each harvest," he sighs.

Soviet helicopters dropped incendiary bombs on his wheat fields last year. Mother Nature saved the Soviets the trouble this year. "We had no snow in winter, no rain in spring. Then it poured at harvest time and washed away many of the crops," Mr. Rasoul says.

## Money for Food

In Wardak province, individual farmers report a 30% to 60% decrease in this year's harvest. Cmdr. Wardak gave the poorest villages money to buy food from luckier areas. But another bad harvest would make that impossible.

"Even if we had enough money, it couldn't buy what doesn't exist," says Aminullah Wardak, the commander's brother-in-law and accountant.

Still, farmers in Wardak province are better off than farmers are in many other areas. When Cmdr. Wardak and local mulahs told them of plans to get aid, most of them decided to stay.

Farmers who don't have such outside help take their own crude measures. Visitors approaching Hajji Jumagual Arab's farm at night see the dull headlight of his Massey-Ferguson tractor bobbing up and down. He farms after dark to avoid daytime air attacks. Like his neighbors he also hides his animals indoors whenever possible.

## Mr. Arab's Vantage Point

After the invasion, Mr. Arab returned from his work as a carpenter in Saudi Arabia to help the family farm, one of the largest on the Zurmat Plain, perilously placed between two Soviet helicopter bases. He has since seen Afghan government troops set fire to fields, Soviet troops gun down 20 of his sheep, and most of his neighbors leave. He says more than 50 men working the fields during the harvest were carted off at gunpoint by Afghan soldiers during a conscription campaign.

His family has lost three-fourths of its livestock—some animals died in fighting, and some were sold because they couldn't be fed anymore. The farm produces only a fourth of the grain it did before the war. The only vestige of more affluent days is a silver tea set from which Mr. Arab serves guests. Nevertheless, Mr. Arab aristocratically refuses to abandon his land. "This was a great farm," he says. "We will never give this to the Russians unless we are martyred."

Providing medical care is almost as essential as producing more food. Tuberculosis and malaria are endemic. More than half of all children in some areas die before they reach five, and guerrillas often die or lose limbs from infections that could be treated.

## Bombed Hospital

Last winter Soviets bombed a new hospital built by Wardak guerrillas, a raid that the guerrillas' commander says had to be deliberate. Medical supplies were destroyed that were both expensive and difficult to obtain.

Opening anti-Soviet schools presents several obstacles. Education has a bad name in the countryside. Some 95% of villagers are illiterate, and they know only that schools have been used in recent years to turn their children from Islam to Communism. They complain, furthermore, that Afghanistan's intelligentsia either fled the country or joined the government after the invasion.

"It was hard work at first to get people to send their children here," says schoolteacher Mohammed Yousef, who is also a mullah. He says it becomes easier as parents discover their children are learning not only about math but also about how Afghans historically have repelled invaders and now must fight a holy war against atheistic Communists.

Indeed, when his 23 students are asked what they would like to be when they grow up, they all dutifully answer "Mujaheddin"—guerrillas. Sultan Omat, a 10-year-old boy, is bewildered when asked what he wants to be after the war ends, as if the subject hadn't occurred to him. After much prodding, he shrugs, "I guess I would be a mullah."

#### Demonstration Value

Cmdr. Wardak admits that his postage system and its stamps are largely for show. Most people in Wardak province can't write. Moreover, his family members in Pakistan must again add postage once letters arrive by donkey from Afghanistan since he has no postal agreement with any other country.

He sees the stamps as a way to demonstrate to potential supporters that the resistance can do more than shoot guns. The fifth issue of the stamps commemorates the Dec. 26 25th anniversary of the invasion. It depicts a guerrilla grasping the Koran in one hand and a gun in the other. Mr. Wardak will use them on letters to Western leaders appealing for help.

Mr. Wardak realizes that such gimmicks—and his schools and hospitals more generally—are meaningful only if backed by military force.

In the past year, the resistance has been increasingly on the offensive, especially around Kabul where it has continually disrupted power supplies. Observers say that guerrilla attacks have been better planned and more effective.

"The law of natural selection is beginning to operate," says a Western diplomat. "There are fewer and better commanders, and guerrillas are finally getting some training. They are starting to learn they can't trust in Allah to put bullets in the right place."

But old problems persist. Since the beginning of the war, for instance, rivalries among the seven most important Afghan political parties, which provide weapons from their Pakistan base, have severely hampered the resistance.

But many commanders in Afghanistan are bypassing the political leaders and forming cross-party alliances. Cmdr. Wardak's brother has been travelling through four neighboring provinces, meeting commanders and suggesting coordinated mili-

tary actions and personnel exchanges, so that fighters become familiar with operating in both cities and countryside.

"Only a unified military front is going to liberate Afghanistan," Cmdr. Wardak says. "The people in the parties interfere with the only force that can help them win."

#### Schism in the Ranks

Cmdr. Wardak's independent attitudes have angered leaders of his own party, the National Islamic Front for the Liberation of Afghanistan. The party, led by Sayd Ahmed Gailani, hasn't given him a single bullet in the last two years. He relies instead on captured weapons and limited help from two other parties.

"Gailani is a very jealous man," a Western diplomat in Pakistan says. "Amin [Wardak] is establishing his own connections in the West, and [Gailani] doesn't like that. Amin gets money and medicines he doesn't share with the party, and [Gailani] likes that less."

Mr. Gailani says he will call in Mr. Wardak for "questioning" about why finances and goods he has received weren't reported to the party. "He has more weapons than 90% of our commanders," Mr. Gailani says. "Why should I give him anything?"

Still, Western intelligence sources say that Mr. Wardak's guerrillas are militarily weak. Indeed, his mountain headquarters has an air about it of Masada, King Herod's fortress where Jewish zealots, cut off and under Roman siege, killed themselves before they could be conquered.

#### Repelling Invasion

Mohamed Sadiq Egbal, who is responsible for the area's air defense, enthusiastically marches a visitor up the mountain to show off several antiaircraft machine guns. He then points to mines that will stop Soviet invaders from coming by foot. If those fail, guerrillas will set explosives in craggy mountainsides and send rocks tumbling down on the enemy.

"They will be smothered dead," Mr. Egbal says, clapping his hands. "Boom."

But Cmdr. Wardak admits there isn't enough food or ammunition to survive a long siege and that the antiaircraft guns' bullets would bounce off the underbellies of Soviet helicopters. Still, he scoffs at talk that it is only a matter of time before the resistance peters out in the face of Soviet might. "Don't compare the people here with Czechs or Hungarians," he says. "This isn't just resistance but a holy war. This gives us a power they never had."

#### SHISH LIK ON THE HOOF

Caravan Serai, the Afghan restaurant at 2046 Pinehurst, Minneapolis, MN now has a full takeout menu. If you are in the neighborhood, call 690-1935 or 457-8476.

## CAMPAIGN OF TERROR REPORTED by Frank J. Priol, NYT 12/17

A report on human rights violations in Afghanistan asserts that a campaign of organized terror, torture, imprisonment and execution has been under way since Soviet troops entered the country five years ago.

The 212-page report, "Tears, Blood and Cries," was prepared by Helsinki Watch, a group founded to promote compliance with the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki accords. The group describes the document, to be issued today, as "the first comprehensive account of human rights violations in Afghanistan" since the Soviet intervention in December 1979.

#### Accounts From 'Inside'

"For five years now," the report says, "in their remote mountainous land the people of Afghanistan have been defending their independence, their culture and their very existence in a desperate battle with one of the world's great superpowers. Yet the inherent drama of such a confrontation does not appear to have captured the world's imagination."

The report describes its findings as a compilation of accounts by "a handful of intrepid scholars, doctors and journalists who have taken the risk of 'going inside.'"

"Inside" is Afghanistan itself, which is closed to most journalists and international humanitarian organizations. In addition, the Helsinki Watch staff interviewed more than 100 Afghans in the refugee camps at Quetta and Peshawar in Pakistan.

"From our interviews," the report says, "it soon became clear that just about every conceivable human rights violation is occurring in Afghanistan, and on an enormous scale."

"The crimes of indiscriminate warfare are combined with the worst excesses of unbridled, state-sanctioned violence against civilians," the report asserts. "The ruthless savagery in the countryside is matched by the subjection of a terrorized urban population to arbitrary arrest, torture, imprisonment and execution."

#### Violations by Guerrillas

The Helsinki Watch report also cites human rights violations by the Afghan guerrillas, including the torture and execution of prisoners of war and attacks on civilian targets.

"Some such practices appear to be widespread, while others are occasional," the report says.

It notes that Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are both members of the United Nations, contracting parties of the Geneva conventions and signers of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. "The legal obligations of these Governments are clear," the report states.

"The Afghan resistance," it adds, "is not a government, a member of the United Nations or a party to any international agreements."

From the editor:

January 1985 marks the start of the 6th year of the Soviet army's appearance in Afghanistan, the 20th anniversary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and the 13th year of this publication.

For new subscribers a brief introduction: The Forum tries to keep a record of what people are doing in and around and writing and saying about Afghanistan. Editorially we do not discriminate, our motto being "all the news that fits we print." In the chronologies we summarize what has been reported with place and proper names spelled as they appeared in the article cited. We use Bakhtar News Agency telexes for the Kabul chronology.

The Forum is entirely a volunteer effort. Subscription revenue goes for paper, typewriter ribbons, erasers, glue, envelopes, reproduction costs and postage.

We welcome letters, articles, copies of articles, book reviews, photos, suggestions for what you would like to see included in the Forum, and news of any kind which relates to Afghanistan or Afghans - wherever they may be.

The next issue will appear in March; the deadline for material is February 15 although we love to receive things at any time. We would appreciate receiving information on year-end activities and/or Nawroz (Afghan New Year, 3/21) events.

To receive the next issue, you must renew your subscription. We are grateful to those of you who have renewed and we hope that those of you who haven't will. A handy form is enclosed. Please note new prices.

## CONFERENCES

Afghanistan may be neglected by the press & the public, but on the conference circuit it was a hot topic this fall.

"Afghanistan: Strategic Importance & Global Perspectives" moderated by Moh'd I. Khan at the NY Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, Cortland, NY, 10/12-13.

"The Impact of Afghan Refugees on Pakistani Society" at the Columbia Univ. Conference on Contemporary Pakistan, 10/25-27.

"Afghanistan Update: The Refugees & the Resistance," chaired by Tom Gouttierre, & "The Potential of Afghanistan's Society & Institutions to Resist Soviet Domination," chaired by Leon Poullada at the Univ. of Wisconsin's annual South Asian Conference 11/3-4 at Madison.

"To Be Fed in a War Economy - Afghanistan" sponsored by the Bureau International Afghanistan (BIA) in Paris 11/9-11.

"Soviet Policy in Afghanistan" at the American Assn. for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in NYC on 11/2.

"Sentiment, Motive & Symbol: A Problem in the Analysis of Afghan Islam," a paper by Robert Canfield, at the Univ. of Pennsylvania Iranian Studies Seminar 11/7.

"Orality, Literacy & Identity: Afghan Popular Narratives" by Margaret Mills & "Pashtun Narratives of Complaint: Laments or Narratives of Identity?" by Benedicte Grima Johnson at the American Folklore Society, 10/10-14 in San Diego. (Both these papers were also read at the Middle East Studies meeting - see below.)

"Afghanistan - The 5th Year of the Liberation Struggle," "The Afghan Mujahiddin: The Case for Functional Disunity," "Afghan Women: the Isolated Warriors" by Kathleen Howard-Merriam, "Religion & Tribe Among Afghan Refugees in Pakistan" by David Edwards, "Agnatic Rivalry & Theological Islam in the Political Process of Afghanistan 1919-1984" by Shah Mahmood Hanifi, "Dalak Musicians in Northeastern Afghanistan" by Lorraine Sakata, "The Role of Islam in the Afghan Resistance Movement" by David Champagne, at the Middle East Studies Meeting in San Francisco, 11/28- 12/1. "Soviet Prospects in Afghanistan, the Resistance & Western Perceptions" sponsored by the Society for Central Asian Studies at Oxford, England on 12/5.

"Pakistan, Iran & Afghanistan in Soviet-American Relations," an international seminar sponsored by the Pakistan-American Foundation & the Inst. of Contemporary Arab & Islamic Studies at Villanova Univ., Dec. 7-8. (cont. on p.25)

# One way through the Khyber

By Arun Chacko  
Associate Editor in South Asia

PESHAWAR, Pakistan—Since the dawn of history, people from Afghanistan have been coming down from their mountain homes to present-day Pakistan or farther south, prompted by the search for fame and fortune or propelled by incessant tribal wars.

That the journey is invariably one way is common knowledge in the crowded bazaar of this border city and capital of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province.

"When an Afghan comes down from the Khyber," says a Pakistani government official with certitude, "he never goes back." The official should know; his family fled from Afghanistan 200 years ago.

Whole tribes such as the Dakkzais and Suris left Afghanistan and resettled in the Indian subcontinent. About 150 years ago, the Popalzai tribe was driven out after a feud with the ruler of Kandhar, and disappeared into the Punjab.

History has repeated itself in more recent times. Political instability in the 1970s turned the historical trickle of Afghans into a torrent. Following the overthrow of the Sardar Daud government by Nur Mohammad Taraki in April 1978, about 110,000 Afghans streamed into Pakistan. Their ranks swelled to 193,000 a year later, when Taraki in turn was ousted from office. Then in December 1979, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the torrent became a flood.

In the following seven months, more than a million people trekked through the Himalayan mountain passes, and their numbers doubled after the war. By December 1982, there were 2.8 million refugees, and the worst was said to be over. But since then, an average of 10,000 have been slipping in each month, bringing the total figure to three million.

Today, about 30 percent of the world's 10 million refugees can be found in Pakistan. Reflecting the permanence of this situation is the fact that fully 50 percent of Pakistan's refugees are under 15 years old, and many of the children are locally born.

Despite attempts by their elders to keep their patriotism and revolutionary fervor alive, for most of the young refugees, Pakistan is home. There is little pull for them to return to the rigors and extreme poverty of life in Afghanistan.

The sprawling refugee camps, where most live, are acquiring a more permanent character. The tents are slowly giving way to mudhouses — more durable and comfortable dwellings in the extreme cold and heat.

One of the biggest camps is Nasirbagh, which occupies 32 square kilometers of a treeless plain set against the backdrop of the Khyber hills and situated off the main road from Peshawar to the Khyber Pass.

Like the other camps, Nasirbagh is becoming a township. It has a bazaar, 11 primary schools, one middle school and three dispensaries, managed mostly by Afghan doctors from Peshawar. With free food, fuel and modest cash allowance, the 29,000 residents enjoy a standard of living probably better than in their native land.

Nasirbagh is almost five years old, and most of its residents have been there since 1979. Thanks to aid in cash and in kind, they do not really need to work. Many of the men prefer to sit around, gossip, smoke and drink alcoholic tea. Others run little shops or become construction workers building camp houses.

The camp schools and dispensaries are

the centers of activity. In the morning, thousands of children attend several hours of class, where their separate identity and patriotism are emphasized by the mainly Afghan teachers. Schools are rigidly segregated by sex, with 10 for boys and two for girls.

An arresting sight is the long line of often black-veiled women waiting for medical attention at the dispensary for females. The lines are equally long at the dispensaries for the men and for mixed patients.

Elsewhere in Pakistan, refugees have made their presence increasingly felt. Peshawar, for instance, has well over 60,000 of them, most of whom have done reasonably well, although they no longer receive free rations.

Refugees have set up shops and restaurants all over the country, including the capital of Islamabad. More and more Afghan trucks and rickshaws are seen on the streets.

In Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province, which have the greatest refugee concentration, the newcomers have bought up considerable rural and urban property. When they began acquiring property in the Punjab, the provincial governor, Lt. Gen. Ghulam Jilani Khan, took a serious view of the matter.

The flow of refugees has been matched by the influx of livestock they bring with them. Families moving into pasture lands with livestock have created the problem of indiscriminate grazing. And because most of them prefer wood instead of fire kerosene for household fuel, the North-West Frontier Province's forest wealth has been seriously depleted.

A ratio of one refugee to seven locals was initially tried, but in most places the scheme did not work. In the Pishin district of Baluchistan, for instance, there are as many refugees as locals.

The strain of accommodating refugees has taxed Pakistan's resources and unsettled its people. A Peshawar survey found the local people increasingly apprehensive about the ubiquitous refugees and their impact on the economy.

Misconceptions abound. One of them is that most young Afghans are away fighting the Russians and that only old men, women and children are to be found in refugee camps. In an adult refugee population of 1.5 million, there are about 80,000 fewer men than women.

The young refugees, enjoying the advantage of free rations and shelter, have entered the job market at cheaper rates, putting a lot of locals out of work. This has prompted Pakistanis to seek enactment of a law that would give them preference for work outside refugee camps.

Sajjad Hyder, Pakistan's former ambassador to the Soviet Union and India, calculates the total economic cost to his country at \$1.1 billion a year, or \$5.5 billion over a five-year plan period. This is about 50 percent more than the total amount to be spent by Pakistan for agriculture, education, health and population welfare.

The repercussions are great, but Pakistan is caught in a bind. Although its national interest demands that solutions to the refugee problem be discussed directly with the Afghan government—as Pakistani political parties, newspapers and responsible citizens have long urged—the government of General Zia ul-Haq has not asked Pakistan is so dependent on the Americans and Arabs for military and economic aid that it does not want to risk displeasing them by unilaterally opening talks with Afghanistan.



PHOTOS BY ARUN CHACKO

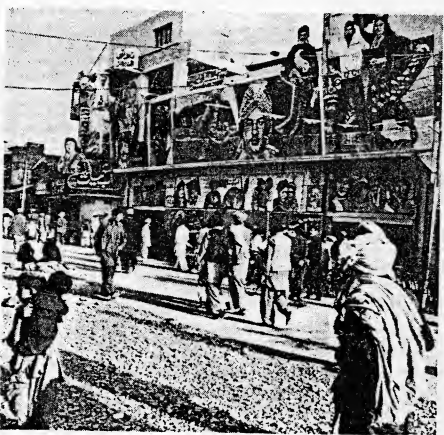
"Our reason for not holding direct talks with the Kabul regime is that it does not represent the people of Afghanistan since it has been installed by the Russians," Air Chief Marshal Zulfikar Ali Khan, retired chief of Pakistan's air force, explained in the newspaper, *The Muslim*. "We also apprehend that direct talks will annoy our friends and may cause them to withdraw their support."

The price of this support may be high. The western powers and the Arabs want to pressure the Soviet Union, with little thought to the ultimate security of either Pakistan or Afghanistan. "The West is prepared to fight to the last Afghan, to expose Russian expansionism," Air Chief Marshal Khan wrote.

With no diplomatic initiative to deal with the refugee issue, the Pakistani people themselves face a more forbidding prospect than the refugees they have accommodated.

"It means that for every Afghan refugee that is allowed to stay indefinitely in Pakistan," says Hyder, the retired diplomat, "one additional Pakistani child or adult will die from malnutrition or lack of health facilities, one additional Pakistani child will go without adequate education, and one Pakistani adult will be without a job."

Arun Chacko is a freelance journalist based in New Delhi.



From the August *WORLD PAPER*, reprinted in the September issue of *THE EXECUTIVE* (Hong Kong).

By ROY HOWARD BECK

Associate Editor

**PESHAWAR, Pakistan** - Five years after the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan began driving nearly three million refugees here, an international church relief committee is sending some refugees back across the border.

It is not because the war is letting up. Some refugee doctors and paramedics are taking in medical supplies - sometimes for hundreds of miles - to treat civilians remaining in Afghan regions not controlled by the Soviets.

The Inter-Church Aid Committee is helping the doctors train refugees to be paramedics and is buying the medical supplies for their packs.

Although Soviet forces control Afghanistan's capital and government, most non-urban parts of Afghanistan are outside Soviet control, refugee doctors explained. Church-sponsored medical aid is dispensed in those areas where Afghan "freedom fighters" wage what some call an Islamic holy war to drive out the Soviets.

The United Methodist Church and other U.S. churches support the Inter-Church Aid Committee's work with tens of thousands of the refugees inside Pakistan. But they haven't decided whether to join churches from other nations who for a year have paid for the new medical thrust into guerrilla-controlled sections of Afghanistan.

### "Clinics are big Russian enemy"

The U.S. church agencies have been cautious because relief work in guerrilla-controlled areas heightens the risk that the agencies may be accused of aiding one side in the war.

The Soviet Union considers such medical aid to be support for the anti-Soviet "freedom fighters," the Reporter was told by one refugee doctor. He had just returned from a medical mercy mission inside Afghanistan.

"The situation is getting worse for the civilians in Afghanistan," he said. "During three days of my treating patients in a village, the Russians continually attacked the clinic from the air."

"You don't dare identify a clinic with a red cross. The Russians bomb anything that looks like a clinic or school because they believe those institutions help the population continue the resistance. Clinics are a big enemy of the Russians," the doctor said.

### Political risk inherent

Flitting around the booby-trapped political area of a refugee aid is nothing new to Church World Service of the National Council of Churches in the U.S.

The political risk is inherent even in helping Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

That comes quickly into focus simply by walking into one refugee camp in this North-West Frontier city of Peshawar.

Within minutes after entering the camp last month, a group of U.S. Christians encountered several Afghan "freedom fighters," one fresh from sabotaging some Soviet-controlled power lines back in his homeland.

This camp is run primarily with U.S. and European churches' funds. The aid benefits about 140 civilian Afghan refugee families.

But the camp sits only some 40 miles from the Khyber Pass into Afghanistan - 140 miles from Kabul, the Afghan capital - and it inadvertently serves as a rest and recuperation center for "freedom fighters" who are members of families living in the camp.

Further tangling refugee relief with the issue of possible aid to one side of the war is the fact that most military experts agree a precondition for fighting a successful guerrilla war is that the fighting men must have a safe haven for their families. A U.S. embassy official told the Reporter that refugee camps provide such a haven even if the church sponsors do not intend to help the war effort.

### Balanced aid preferred

To avoid charges of taking sides, church agencies prefer to give relief to noncombatant civilians on both sides, said officials in the New York offices of the United Methodist General Board of Global Ministries and Church World Service.

Church agencies have been criticized in recent years for being one-sided in cases such as their humanitarian aid a few years ago in areas controlled by leftist guerrillas in the African nation of Zimbabwe.

But balance is difficult in the Afghanistan situation. The Soviet Union has allowed virtually no international relief organizations through the "front door" of Afghanistan to help civilians in government-controlled areas, church officials said.

The one exception is a small amount of medical aid in the Afghan capital of Kabul provided by the UMC's Global Ministries and Church World Service. It is too risky to persons receiving the aid for the details to be published, officials said.

Church organizations as well as the government of Pakistan must constantly try to reassure the Soviet Union that they aren't siding with the Afghan "freedom fighters," relief officials said.

The reassurances apparently aren't believed totally. Diplomatic sources in mid-September said Soviet-backed attacks on Pakistan border settlements have killed 117 civilians, mostly refugees, this year. Church leaders fear taking any action that might draw more bombing and shelling from the estimated 14,000 Soviet troops amassed along the border in Afghanistan.

Two weeks after the diplomats spoke, the Pakistan government reported that planes of the Soviet-controlled Afghan government bombed a town near Peshawar, killing at least 32 civilians.

### Contributions now sought

Church World Service staff and advisers from the relief agency's member denominations recently decided the health needs inside Afghanistan are urgent enough to ask member denominations to risk supporting Inter-Church Aid's medical efforts in guerrilla-controlled regions.

No U.S. denomination has responded yet.

The United Methodist Committee on Relief (UMCOR) will determine its response to the Afghan medical program Oct. 15-16 when its directors meet in New York, said Norma Kebrburg, its chief executive.

Back in an austere office above some dingy shops in Peshawar, seven Afghan physicians recently told the group of U.S. Christians that most people in Afghanistan are outside the reach of medical assistance.

They were excited that their Union of Afghan Mujahid Doctors, composed of more than 40 refugee physicians, now has a way, with church assistance, to help their people in their homeland.

Although unified with the guerrillas in their desire to drive out the Soviet forces, the doctors and paramedics do not directly participate in the military effort, they said.

They said they offer medical treatment caves or at sites near anti-aircraft guns of "freedom fighters" to avoid Soviet attacks. When the medical supplies are gone, they return to Pakistan.

And they expressed thanks to those churches which have given aid (most of it from Norway) to make the medical treatments possible.

From an editorial

in the WSJ 11/16:

When Congress appropriated \$2 million of additional Afghan aid this summer, it proved hard to get part of it earmarked effectively to go into Afghanistan. Several U.S. diplomats wanted to do as much as possible through the International Committee of the Red Cross, even though the ICRC's strict nonpartisan role requires it to inform the puppet government in Kabul about what it is doing.

Subtle foreign-policy minds in Washington hesitated to make the resistance fighters a major target of U.S. aid because, they said, we still have diplomatic relations with Kabul and get just lots and lots of useful information from this relationship. These officials also said they feared undermining the credibility of U.S. humanitarian efforts in the whole area. As of this date, the congressional appropriation has not been spent.

The alchemists talk as if their adversaries wanted to send Marines to Peshawar. There is no such discoverable sentiment: Afghanistan watchers just about universally recognize the limits on what the U.S. can do to defend the area.

But the war in Afghanistan is not just some inscrutable Third World mess. It has become a awesome and morally significant conflict, because of the atrocious means the Soviets have shown themselves willing to use when the going gets tough and because of the Afghans' fierce devotion to their freedom even in the face of such horrors.

The U.S. cannot do everything for the Afghans, and in what it does attempt it must exercise the usual standards of care. But the world is confronted here with something approaching genocidal terror, and in the face of such a situation, it is incumbent on U.S. leaders to cut through the bureaucratic whining and deliver the help the U.S. is perfectly capable of providing.

### Citizen's Complaints on Kabul Radio:

Interspersed between musical interludes, listeners phone in with the following complaints & suggestions: That the program producer should visit Takhar Prov. & see the people's problems, which are unspecified, first hand - which the producer promises to do; Kabul lacks drinking water pipes, public telephone boxes & electrical connections to several houses; the lack of a bakery in the Aqa Ali Shams area of Kabul; people talk too long on public telephones; a library should be opened at Qandahar airport; another library should be opened in Pol-i Khomri in Baghlan; the purchaser of a gas cylinder says he does not want to buy gas cylinders which he believes are made in Pakistan - he is assured by a company representative that the cylinders are made in Thailand or Japan; bus drivers are impolite; school children are not wearing regulation uniforms; further complaints about public call boxes not working; & a school girl complains about a shortage of drinking water at her school. The program ends with more music.

Foreign Broadcast  
Information Service  
9/17

REMEMBER TO RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION



# New measures to save the forests

Kachagari refugee village, near Peshawar, is the scene of a quiet revolution. There they have just perfected a new flat-bottomed pan, or *tawa*, for making *nan*, the bread which is the staple of the Afghan refugees and which accompanies all their food. According to Mugarab Khan, the manager of the Bellver Foundation stove project and Eva Nordenskjöld of the UNHCR sub-office in Peshawar, the new *tawa* could, if adopted by the Afghan refugees, have far-reaching effects in the fight to save the forests of the North-West Frontier Province.

Traditionally, the Afghans and the local population have relied on what

were apparently unlimited supplies of wood to cook their meals and to heat their homes in the harsh winters. Nellofer Ali, a former employee of the provincial administration of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), now working in the UNHCR sub-office in Peshawar, points out that at present only some 30% of the province's population use natural gas and electricity to

cook their meals. The remaining 70% use wood, very much as their ancestors have done throughout history. Peshawar and the other urban areas of the Province are other of their excellent wood products. The famous oak and pine for furniture provide wood for the furniture industry are of vital importance for the local economy. Today these forests are threatened by uncontrolled cutting and the provincial forest department, alert to the danger, has conducted a number of surveys to assess the extent of the damage.

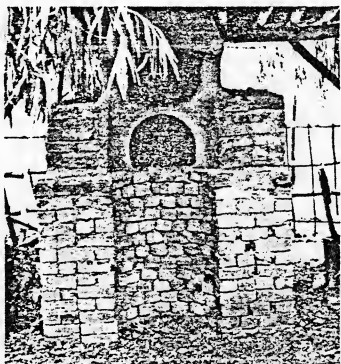
The influx of such vast numbers of Afghan refugees and their reliance on wood for cooking has aggravated a situation that was already desperate before their arrival. In some areas near to the refugee villages there are now hardly any trees left. The shrubs and their roots have also been used. Now the North-West Frontier Province has become dependent on firewood arriving from Afghanistan.

Over the years UNHCR, in cooperation with local agencies, has initiated a number of schemes to check the amount of damage done to the resources in the areas inhabited by refugees: reforestation projects in the provinces affected (North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan), and the distribution of kerosene stoves to refugee families, with the aim of reducing the need for firewood. In addition, UNHCR also asked the Swiss-based Bellver Foundation to design a stove that could easily be used by the refugees and which would take into account

their eating habits as well as the need to cut down consumption.

The result was three stoves and three types of oven using local materials such as clay and straw. The first type of stove, the "crescent", does not have a chimney and is supposed to be used inside or near tents. The second is similar in design but with a clay chimney. The third type, called a *Pugbi* stove, has places for two pots and a chimney. It is adapted from a stove widely used in Africa.

The stoves, sometimes called *Micuta* stoves (from the name of the project leader) or Bellver stoves, are a definite improvement on traditional methods of cooking. The tradi-



tional *tandoor* open fire stoves used 150 grammes of firewood to boil one litre of water in 25 minutes; but the "crescent" stove uses only 54 grammes of firewood to boil the same amount of water in 12 minutes.

There still remained one problem: one could not make *nan* on these stoves. *Nan* is made by applying dough, flattened out to resemble a pancake, on a *tawa* which is then placed over the wood fire. With the traditional *tawas* the centre of the dough heated more than the outer edges. A quiet revolution has been accomplished by altering the *tawas* by adding several metal projections to their base: these provide heat transference to the outer edges of the *tawa*, giving a more even heat distribution over the surface. So with the new *tawas* one can now make proper *nan* and at the same time achieve a saving on wood which, it may be hoped, will substantially reduce the level of deforestation.

EBKER MEMENECIOGLU  
YVAN CONIOR

REFUGEES - November 1984

Deforestation is assuming alarming proportions in some parts of Pakistan. The primary reason is the need for wood to provide fuel for heating and cooking for both the local population and an increasing number of Afghan refugees. An original experiment has just been started to try to help reduce the loss of forests: the use of new types of ovens.

## Turkey is their new home

In an article published on the same subject in a London-based newsmagazine, the differences of adaptation between each group of refugees depending on their ethnic origin is emphasized. Extracts below:

"In spite of government assistance, each group of refugees has its own problems of adaptation. The Kirghiz of the high Pamirs, for instance, were yak-herders and lived a remote, ice-bound existence closely attuned to the dictates of a harsh climate. Their nomadic life has given way to sedentary occupations in their new homes in eastern Turkey, their tents replaced by concrete houses. Instead of a diet based entirely on animal products, they have now learned to eat a wider range of foods, and their style of clothing has become more Europeanized.

For the Turkmen, the change of environment has not been so great, since most of them were used to urban life. However, their adherence to the *Sharia* (Islamic Law) has made it difficult, in some respects, for them to adapt to life in a secular state such as Turkey. The women, for example, have resisted all temptations to discard their veils and to change their way of life. On the question of polygamy, a compromise has been reached and those who were already married before coming to Turkey are allowed to keep their wives, but no new multiple marriages will be sanctioned.

The Uzbeks and Turkmen belonged to the wealthier levels of society in Afghanistan. Many succeeded in bringing some capital out of the country, making it easier for them to finance new enterprises in Turkey. The Kazakhs, by contrast, were generally poor and have only survived the hardships of recent years through their strong sense of communal responsibility. Their endeavours to establish themselves in the leather trade were initially successful. By stitching together waste remnants, they made attractive bags and cushions which sold well. Then the world price of skins soared and they are now no longer able to afford even those scraps. Since then, some of the men have left for Istanbul and other cities in search of work. If they are to avoid becoming fragmented, they must organize their community into a representative group and initiate a co-operative scheme which would attract the financial support they need."

SHIRIN AKINER  
AFKAR

From August 1982 up to the present, about 5,000 Afghan refugees have been resettled in Turkey, in areas inhabited by people with the same ethnic and cultural origin as them.

The Afghan refugees, who now number over 4,000, began to arrive in Turkey in August 1982. In the beginning, the Turkish Government and the Red Crescent settled them temporarily - with financial aid (some US\$ 430,000) and technical assistance from UNHCR - in various sites in the east and south-east of the country while making a special effort to maintain the ties that bind together these people of various ethnic origins. These refugees mainly belong to four different groups: the Uzbeks, the Kirghiz, the Kazakhs, and the Turkomans, all of whom come from different parts of Afghanistan.

Upon arriving in Turkey - the Turkomans from Afghanistan, as well as the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Uzbeks - met with a well-organized welcome from the Turkish authorities. A law calling for the Turkish Government to cover all expenses relating to the resettlement of the refugees (approximately US\$ 50 million) had already been passed prior to their arrival. Since then, another law has made it possible for all the Afghan refugees to become naturalized.

There is feverish activity in the refugee housing in Artova, and in the (permanent) housing in Tokat. Carpet-weaving is the primary occupation of these refugees. The weaving looms, which are provided by the Turkish Government (as is the wool) stop only on Friday, the day off. Given that the official day off is Sunday, this provides concrete proof of the refugees' economic autonomy! These carpets, of a very high quality, flood the markets of the Federal Republic of Germany via Istanbul, where Turkmen living in the city act as middlemen in this highly-organized form of business in which the Turkish Government does not intervene (not even to levy taxes!).

The new nationals in the Tokat region are full of plans for the future. They want to set up a tannery and workshops to process cattle offal. These plans for the future are a symbol of life - life which seems to have come back to normal in the beautiful green countryside of Tokat, where the refugees are getting ready to celebrate the departure of their young men, who are leaving to do their military service... in Turkey.

CENGİZ AKTAR

"..... ALLAH IS PLEASED ....."

IN BALUCHISTAN

Baluchistan is Pakistan's largest province. Tortured barren mountains of extraordinary geological interest alternate with vast expanses of flat, arid plains. The annual rainfall averages only about 5 inches, much of which falls as snow. Occasional oases mark man's efforts to husband water but the landscape is largely stark, dominated by capricious whirlwinds. Not surprisingly, Baluchistan is also Pakistan's most sparsely populated province.

Only 5% of Pakistan's population, or about 4 million choose to live in Baluchistan where the population density is limited to only 12 persons per square kilometer. The introduction of an estimated 700,000 Afghan refugees and an almost equal number of livestock into this fragile ecology was fraught with potential disaster. Instead, in several instances, the Afghans are credited with substantially enhancing the areas they occupy. Such attitudes differ so considerably from those expressed in other areas of high refugee concentration that they are worthy of note.

The remotest RTVs in Pakistan are located near Chagai, midway between Baluchistan's capital at Quetta and the Iranian border. This is one of Baluchistan's harshest districts where only 2 to 3 inches of rain fall each year, chiefly in the winter. Bleak vistas increase markedly as one descends from Quetta and travels for 220 miles: 7 hours toward the southwest through pebbly plains and sand-dune deserts to the town of Dalbandin, the administrative headquarters serving some 152,000 Afghan refugees, the second largest concentration of refugees in Baluchistan. Here a total of 15 RTVs are positioned in a semi-circle north of Dalbandin, in the Chagai Hills bordering Afghanistan's Hilmand Province. Baluch and Pushtun predominate but there are also numbers of Uzbek and Turkoman families, most of whom had lived in the Hilmand Valley of Afghanistan for many years before their exodus to Pakistan.

Local residents in Dalbandin speak positively about the Afghans. Only since the arrival of the Afghans, for instance, has ice ever been available to assuage the thirst of the faithful who fast during Ramazan. Who else, they ask, would drive long hours over execrable roads to bring the ice from Quetta? Indeed, the Afghans must be a little crazy. Nevertheless, by purposefully seizing upon every opportunity, the Afghans have transformed Dalbandin, formerly a lethargic rail depot, into a busy, bustling town.

Dalbandin sits in the center of an area renowned for legendary smugglers. As one Baluch commented: "We've never been interested in agriculture. Why should we? Smuggling brings great profits quickly with much less effort." The Khomeini regime's assiduous crackdown on smuggling has severely curtailed these activities - and the Afghans have capitalized on this. In the large, active bazaar of Girdi Jangal RTV 20 miles: 1 hour northeast of Dalbandin, all manner of souped-up vehicles are parked row upon row. Powerful motorcycles of Russian and other makes stand between them. The refugees point with particular pride to the numbers of Symurgh (a Legendary Phoenix-like bird) trucks. These extremely expensive, tough, fast Iranian trucks are much favored by smugglers. With so many smugglers out of business, the Afghans have been able to purchase them at bargain prices.

The vehicles are used for any number of transportation enterprises but one is of unique interest. The Hilmand Valley in Afghanistan is famed for its high grade travertine which used to be fashioned into attractive objets at the Alabaster Factory in Lashkar Gah and in Kabul. Huge mega-kilo blocks of this material are now transported by Afghan trucks over barely passable mountain trails and across deserts. Loads are often excessive and have to be lightened en route. The sight of these beautifully banded hunks of stone rising incongruously from sand dunes is truly startling. Those that make it are either off-loaded at the Dalbandin railway depot or trucked directly to Karachi for export. In Dalbandin, the Afghans are lauded for helping to bring in

needed hard currency foreign exchange. In Karachi, Pakistani dealers in local marbles resent the competition posed by the superior Afghan imports.

Bargain tractors are also available. A whole park full stand behind the Girdi Jangal bazaar. They too have been brought from Iran where agriculture suffers from the unsettled political conditions. At the same time, the Chagai smugglers, deprived of their Iranian connections, have been forced to turn to agriculture. Local residents acknowledge the fact that recently introduced cultivation in this area has been greatly enhanced by the expertise and industry of the Afghan refugees.

Returning to Dalbandin from Girdi Jangal late one evening, our jeep slowed to ford a stream. A local villager riding with us remarked: "There was never any water here before the Afghans came. In the Koran it is written that Allah was pleased with the ansar (helpers) of Medina who welcomed and aided the muhajireen (refugees) from Mecca (Sura ix:100). In the same way Allah is now pleased with us. Because we give aid to the refugees from Afghanistan, He provides water where it never flowed before. It is true what is said in the Koran. Ansar will always be rewarded (ix:14)." His observation was especially cogent since Baluchistan now suffers its third consecutive year of drought.



The Afghan ditch at  
Posti RTV  
photo by Nancy Dupree

These sentiments were repeated the next day as we journeyed to Posti RTV, 40 miles:2 hours northwest of Dalbandin. A jeep track followed the almost dry bed of a river which seasonally carries snow melt between sheer rock walls forming a narrow valley extending for 15 miles up to a pass on the Afghan border. Posti RTV is in reality a series of small close-kin-related Baluch settlements of 3-10 houses strung along the length of this valley.

In the vicinity of these hamlets carefully tended gardens stand out in lush contrast to the barren hillsides: sunflowers, eggplant, okra, onions, maize, tomatoes, melons and pumpkins grow tall and strong. Wheat fields were less numerous but at one hamlet the families were threshing a most creditable harvest. The UN Int'l Labor Office (ILO) sponsors a seed distribution program among Afghan refugees. The ability of the Afghans to produce flourishing crops in a relentlessly hostile environment where no one before them had envisioned even the feasibility of habitation, much less cultivation, however, has gained deep respect for the Afghans. Indeed, it was most impressive to see the Afghans applying the ingenious water management and engineering

techniques they have perfected over the centuries in this difficult new situation.

As we climbed higher, the jui (irrigation channel) on the hillside became more prominent. Snaking for mile upon miles, the water bed passed through vegetable gardens, overflowing into the river bed past platforms where women did their washing and swimming holes where children frolicked. One might easily have imagined being in parts of the Ghorband, Panjsher, Badakhshan or Hazarajat.

Eventually the water beside the jeep track widened and we came upon a small dam forming a crystal-clear lake on which a covey of delighted ducks paddled. The dam was a simple stone structure built without benefit of any high tech machinery, only the arms and legs of a few industrious Afghan refugees. It now catches the trickle of water which previously had dissipated long before reaching the mouth of the valley. It is the overflow from this system which astounds those living far below.

The refugees of Posti are not alone in their reputation for performing agricultural miracles in Chagai. Some Afghan refugees living in the desert beyond Girdi Jangal found the local melons so vastly inferior to the justly famous Afghan melons that they considered them inedible. In the 9th century A.D. melons from the area of northern Afghanistan were so esteemed that they were packed in leaden molds filled with snow and dispatched by camel to grace the table of the Caliph in Baghdad. By comparison, it is jokingly said in Chagai, the local melons are only fit to feed donkeys. To remedy this the Afghan refugees in Chagai commissioned Afghan freedom fighters to bring back melon seeds from Shibarghan and Baghlan. Crossing these with the hardy, but tasteless, desert melons, the Afghans have produced a sensational gastronomical delight.

Once again Afghan ingenuity at its best has triumphed. Allah should be pleased by these industrious followers in Baluchistan. Would that their reward may be a free Afghanistan.

Nancy Hatch Dupree

The Duprees spent July 1984 in Pakistan,  
mainly in Baluchistan

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#### CONFERENCES .. cont. from p. 1

Papers & panelists at the Villanova conference were "US Strategic Interests in Pakistan, Iran & Afghanistan" by George McGhee; "Soviet Strategic Interests in Pakistan, Iran & Afghanistan" by Morris McCain; "India's Relations with Pakistan, Iran & Afghanistan" by Craig Baxter; "Ethnic Dilemmas of Pakistan, Iran & Afghanistan & Their Security Problems" by Jon Anderson; "The Traditional Afghan State & Its Adaptation to the Environment of Central & SW Asia" by Ashraf Ghani; "Communism in Afghanistan" by Henry Bradsher; "Cultural & Political Determinants of the Afghan Resistance to Soviet Intervention" by Louis Dupree; "The Demography of the Afghan Refugees" by Nancy Dupree; "Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan & Its Impact on Pakistan's Foreign Policy" by Hafeez Malik; &

"Buffer States on the Rim of Asia - Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran & the Super Powers" by Lawrence Ziring.

"The Failure of the Soviet Economic Strategy in Afghanistan" by M.S. Noorzoy at the Middle East Economic Assn in Dallas, 12/28-30.

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An article by William Borders in the NYT of 12/19, gives Soviet casualties in Afghanistan since 1979 as 8,000 killed & 15,000 - 20,000 wounded.

# ORGANIZATIONS

THE AFGHAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL ASSN.  
P.O. Box 10  
Kirkland, Washington 98035

Established 3/3/84 to promote understanding & friendship between the Afghan & American communities, the Association plans to create public awareness of the Afghan cause, provide a venue for closer contact among the Afghans of the area to preserve their cultural heritage, help Afghan refugees adapt to their new status, & promote affiliation with other similar organizations.

AFGHAN MUTUAL ASSISTANCE ASSN.  
225 Park Avenue South, 17th Floor  
New York, NY 10003  
212-460-9128

Dr. M. Taher Hashemi is the president of this organization which was established in February 1983. Its primary objectives are to promote the idea of mutual assistance by bringing together Afghan refugees to enhance the economic & social well-being of the Afghan community, to help resolve day-to-day & long-range problems of the Afghan community, to establish working relationships with similar organizations & social service agencies & to promote understanding among Afghans in order to foster Afghan culture and maintain a national & historical identity. The group plans to brief new refugee arrivals, organize cultural & educational activities, establish an emergency fund for refugees & undertake fund-raising activities. Membership rates are as follows:  
Individual - \$10; Family - \$30;  
Sponsor - \$50; Patron - \$100.

AFGHAN FOUNDATION  
P.O. Box 1100  
Radio City Station  
New York, NY 10101  
212-621-9000

Our first word of this organization came when we received a copy of AFGHAN NEWS, a 4-page newspaper in Dari & English. Photographs of Zia Nassry, Bacha Sacao, Amanullah & his family and the Ayatollah Khomeini decorate the pages. A yearly subscription is \$25 (\$100 overseas, students get a 50% discount). Order from the above address. An advertisement in the paper

indicates that there is an AFGHAN BUSINESS ASSOCIATION which is accepting new members. The membership is \$25; send it to the same address. We hope to have more information on these organizations in the next issue.

AFGHAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS FUND  
P.O. Box 693  
Boulder Colorado 80306

This is the Soldier of Fortune fund started by SOF's editor/publisher Robert K. Brown. Money collected is sent to the mujahideen. "Due to hassles with Pakistani customs, we can't send supplies & equipment, but we can send money. Your donation is not tax deductible, but you get a handsome certificate signed by Robert K. Brown and the knowledge that you did your bit."

AFGHAN MEDICAL AID  
Al Noor Bldg, Shaheen Town P.O. Box 869  
Jamrud Road University P.O.  
Peshawar, Pakistan

Dr. Ahmad Sher Zamani writes: Afghan Medical Aid was founded in November, 1983 to provide free medical diagnosis & treatment to Afghan refugees. It is a voluntary aid agency financed with donations. Initially it was a basic health unit but soon we started X-ray, ECG, laboratory & specialist care facilities, and recently we have added 10 beds. We charge neither for examination nor treatment. One donor supplies dry milk powder which is distributed free to the needy. Our staff consists of an Afghan MD, an Afghan female gynecologist, an Afghan nurse & a female health visitor & an Afghan clerk. So far we have treated over 35,000 patients.

The organization needs money & supplies. Anyone wishing to contribute to them may do so through Grindlays Bank Limited, Peshawar, Account # 284 502029. For more information write Dr. Zamani at the above address.

A gynecological out-patient clinic opened in early November on Charsada Road outside Peshawar. Partly sponsored by the Int'l. Rescue Committee, the clinic is primarily for Afghan refugee women but all women are welcome regardless of nationality or party affiliation.



# RECENT PUBLICATIONS

ORIENTAL RUGS, Vol. 3, "The Carpets of Afghanistan" by R.D. Parsons. Oriental Textile Press, Suffolk, 1983. ISBN 0-907462-2227. 149 pp., color & b&w illus., maps. \$49.50. Published for the Antique Collectors' Club, Church Street, Woodbridge, Suffolk, England,

INDUS CIVILIZATION: NEW PERSPECTIVES by A.H. Dani, Center for the Study of Civilization of Central Asia, Quaid-i-Azam Univ. Islamabad, 1981, contains "Notes on Shortugai: An Harappan Site in Northern Afghanistan."

ARCHAEOLOGICAL GAZETEER OF AFGHANISTAN, Vols. 1 & 2 by Warwick Ball with Jean-Claude Gardin, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Paris, 1982. Also by Warwick Ball: "The Remains of a Monumental Timurid Garden Outside Herat" in EAST & WEST, Ismeo, Vol. 31, 1981 and "The So-called 'Minars' of Kabul" in STUDIA IRANICA, Vol. 13, fascicle 1, 1984, published by the Assn. for the Advancement des Etudes Iraniennes & the Sorbonne.

THE GORDON CREEDS IN AFGHANISTAN, edited by William Trousdale, BACSA, London, 1984. 210 pp., illus. & photos, map. ISBN 0-907799-08-6. \$15. (Order from Dr. William Trousdale, Curator, Dept. of Anthropology, Nat'l. Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Inst., Washington D.C., 20560. Make checks payable to BACSA [British Assn. for Cemeteries in South Asia]). "The Gordon Creed memoirs, one of the rare father & son combinations covering the 1st & 2nd Afghan Wars constitute a unique contribution to the literature of the Frontier..."

GUARDIANS OF THE NEW FRONTIER: THE PATHANS by Andre Singer & the Editors of Time Life Books. Peoples of the World Series, Time Life Books, Amsterdam, 1982.

Also by Andre Singer; LORDS OF THE KHYBER: THE STORY OF THE NORTHWEST FRONTIER, Faber & Faber, London, 1984. 234 pp., photos, biblio, £9.95. ISBN 0-571-11796-1.

REVOLUTIONS & REBELLIONS IN AFGHANISTAN, edited by M. Nazif Shahrani & Robert Canfield, Institute of Int'l. Studies, Univ. of California, Berkeley, Research Series #57, 1984. Articles by Nazif Shahrani, Louis Dupree, Richard Strand, David Katz, Lincoln Keiser, Thomas Barfield, Hugh Beattie, Robert Canfield, Richard Tapper, Bahram Tavakolian, Jon Anderson, Nancy Tapper & Nancy Hatch Dupree. 394 pp. Paper. \$14.95

A number of articles on Afghanistan appear in ETHNOLOGIE UND GESCHICHTE FESTSCHRIFT FÜR KARL JETTMAR, ed. by Peter Snoy, Univ. of Heidelberg, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1983.

AUS DEM OSTEN DES ALEXANDERSEICHES VÖLKER UND KULTUR ZWISCHEN ORIENT UND OKZIDENT, IRAN, AFGHANISTAN, PAKISTAN, INDIEN by Jakob Ozols/völker Thewalt (Hrsg), DuMont Buchverlag, Köln, 1984. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Klaus Fischer.

Louis Dupree has written forwards for new editions of THE RUSSIANS ADVANCE TOWARD INDIA by Charles Marvin and HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN from the earliest period to the outbreak of the War of 1878 by Col. G.B. Malleson C.S.I. Both books are published by the Saeed Book Bank, Peshawar, 1984, and are 210 rupees.

"Soviet Nationality Policy in Afghanistan" by Sauri Bhattacharya in ASIAN AFFAIRS, Vol. XV, Part II, June 1984. This publication is the Journal of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs.

"Women & Socioeconomic Change among the Sheikanzai Nomads of Western Afghanistan" by Bahram Tavakolian in THE MIDDLE EAST, Middle East Institute. Vol. 38, #3, Summer 1984.

Fascicles 5 (1983) and 6 (1984) of the ENCYCLOPAEDIA IRANICA, edited by Ehsan Yarshatar, have articles (with photos) on Afghanistan. The ENCYCLOPAEDIA is published by Routledge & Kegan Paul.

AFGHANISTAN PASSATO E PRESENTE is issued regularly in Italy. For information write Via Maragliano N 33/A, 50144, Firenze, Italy. The subscription is 15,000 lire/yr.

LE ROYAUME DE L'INSOLENCIE, la resistance Afghane du Grand Moghol a l'invasion Sovietique by Michael Barry, Flammarion, Paris, 1984. ISBN 2-08-211524-0.

The QUATRAINS OF KHALILULLAH KHALILI were published by Octagon Press, London, in 1981.

Afghanistan appears in an article by Lee Horne in THE CHANGING RURAL HABITAT, Vol. II, Background Papers published by the Aga Khan Awards in 1982.

"Il Problema delle Lingue Officiali in Afghanistan" by Giorgio Vercellin in MISCELLANEA INTERLINGUISTICA. [Sorry, we don't have the date. Ed.] Also by Giorgio Vercellin: "Sur L'Histoire de L'Afghanistan Contemporain" in FORSCHUNGEN IN UND UBER AFGHANISTAN, edited by Siegmur Breckle & Clas Neuman, Duetsches Orient-Inst. Hamburg, 1983, # 22, and "Afghanistan: non c'e soltanto l'Armata Rossa" in QUADERNI DI RELAZIONI INTERNAZIONALI, n. 5.

THE PRICE OF LIBERTY: THE TRAGEDY OF AFGHANISTAN by Sayed Qassem Reshtia, Bardi Editore (Salita de' Crescenzi, 16 - 00186 Roma, Italy), Rome, 1984. 144 pp., 26 illus., \$8.00. (See Review on p. 29)

"Afghanistan I: M\*A\*S\*H Without Laughter" by Jere Van Dyk and "Afghanistan II: Untold Stories" by Si Frumkin in NATIONAL REVIEW, November 2, 1984.

"Nasir Bagh" by Kyra Nunez in REFUGEES, November, 1984.

"Une solution politique pour l'Afghanistan?" by Selig Harrison in POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE, published by the French Inst. of International Relations, Paris, 3/84; The same article will appear in the Winter Issue of PARAMETERS (the journal of the US Army War College) under the title "Afghanistan: Self-Determination and a Soviet Force Withdrawal."

New on the Afghan UN Mission bookshelf: "REFUGEES" RELATE HORRORS, Kabul, Gov't. Printing Press, 10/83; DISGRACEFUL COLLUSION AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY AFGHANISTAN, Gov't. Printing Press, n.d.; AFGHAN FUGITIVES AND THE REALITIES, Kabul, Gov't. Printing Press, 10/83; The report of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TRIBAL LEADERS AND SOCIAL FIGURES held in Nov. 1983, Party Press, Kabul; PRESS CONFERENCE "Pakistan

is the jail of Afghan Refugees," Gov't. Printing Press, n.d. In English, Dari and Pashto; PRESS CONFERENCE [Philippe Augoyard's picture is on the cover which may account for the title] "The use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan," Gov't. Printing Press n.d. In English and Dari.

**The Pathans OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS**  
(500 B.C.-A.D. 1957) 200 Madison Avenue • New York, NY 10016-

OLAF CAROE, formerly British Governor of the Indian North-West Frontier. This volume traces the varied career of Sir Olaf Caroe, the last British Governor of the Indian North-West Frontier before Independence in 1946-7. Focusing on his 60-year relationship with the Pathans (Pakhtuns or Pashtuns), Caroe provides special insight into a region and a people that had a lasting effect on his life.

1984 558 pp.; 12 illus., 6 maps \$29.95

"Long Term Economic Relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union" by M.S. Noorzoy will appear in Vol. 17 of the INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES in 1985.

"The Russian Policy Towards Iran & Afghanistan: 1800-1917" by Ali Tauqeer Sheikh in STRATEGIC STUDIES, Quarterly Journal of the Inst' of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, Vol. VII, No.4, Summer 1984. The Institute also publishes monthly "Crisis & Analysis Team Reports on Afghanistan." Annual subscription rates are rupees 120 in Pakistan, & \$60 overseas. (The Institute of Strategic Studies, P.O. Box 1173, Islamabad, Pakistan)

Amnesty International has issued a report on political imprisonment, torture & killings in the DRA. The report is \$3 and can be ordered from AI, 304 West 58th Street, New York, NY 10019.

"Reforms, Islam & Tribal Society" by Giorgio Vercellin appeared in POLITICA INTERNAZIONALE (English edition), II, 1, Spring 1981.

Richard Reeves' long article on "Pakistan" appeared in the October 2 NEW YORKER; it included sections on Afghan refugees. His tv documentary "Red Star Over Khyber" was shown on PBS stations in December as part of the FRONTLINE series. An article on the program appeared in the December issue of DIAL. A PASSAGE TO PESHAWAR is Reeves' latest book, published by Simon & Schuster.

"Special Report: Afghanistan War" in AVIATION WEEK & SPACE TECHNOLOGY, October 29, pp. 38 - 44. It is written by John Gunston.

Cont. on p. 31

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE PRICE OF LIBERTY, THE TRAGEDY OF AFGHANISTAN, Sayed Qassem Reshtia, Bardi Editore, Rome, 1984. Paperback, 141 pp., \$8.

Here is something rare on the scene of writing about present-day Afghanistan: an analysis which does not treat the bloody fighting between Soviets and Afghan muja-hiddin (it takes for granted that aroused Afghans are mighty) nor all the machinations between various rebel groups. The Price of Liberty turns its sights on the diplomatic and negotiatory front, presenting concisely the very aspect which world media tend to neglect.

Sayed Qassem Reshtia, who lives now in Geneva, is one of the Afghan exiles best known in the West. He has a remarkable background in government and diplomacy, having held various pre-1978 cabinet posts and ambassadorships and having drafted Afghanistan's Constitution of 1964. Therefore, he is in a position to speak authoritatively of the attempts to get the Russians out of his country by means other than sheer force of arms. He discusses overtures of the United Nations, the non-aligned countries and the Islamic nations.

One effort, which largely escaped Western attention, is that in 1980 of the European Economic Community which through its chairman Lord Carrington proposed an international conference.

"The proposal was rejected by the Soviet Union and its contents have never been published," writes Reshtia, "but because Lord Carrington, in several interviews which he gave, alluded to some kind of 'neutralization' of Afghanistan, this created misgivings among the Afghan Resistance movements which suspected the plan of being aimed at imposing limitations on the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan." Reshtia says that a French proposal of the same year met with more favor from the Afghans.

Mediation by the non-aligned countries, he points out, suffers from the fact that so many are not really non-aligned but pro-Soviet. "Moreover, through the connivance and maneuvering of a minority group, the seat of Afghanistan was given to a representative of the puppet government of Karmal, which is not recognized by the great majority of non-aligned nations themselves."

In discussing the results of this conference, Reshtia points out that "even these ambiguous and mutilated resolutions are calling for the withdrawal of 'all foreign forces' from Afghanistan and the right of the Afghan people to determine their system of government without outside interference."

In the United Nations effort, Reshtia finds only one positive aspect: that at least a channel is open for dialogue and discussion in case the Soviets decide to negotiate with the Freedom Fighters.

The many disagreeing factions of the Freedom Fighters are not mentioned by name. Reshtia only notes the existence of two "main alliances," better known in the West as the Nationalists and the Moderates. Reshtia leaves no doubt that he belongs to the Moderates, oriented toward Western ways rather than tradition. He favors the peace initiative of the former king Zahir Shah who would like to establish a United Front and convoke an assembly. [See Vol. XII, #1, p.2]

Among Reshtia's seven conclusions are "It is of primary importance that the free world adopt a unified and coherent policy on the Afghan question...and work out the means to implement such a policy," and "Help from the international community must reach Afghan freedom fighters before it is too late for them and for the free world."

## REPORTS FROM HERAT

From the Afghan Information Center's October 1984 Bulletin:

Moh'd Hanif Mayar, a resistance commander of Jamyat in Ghorian, visited the AIC on October 2. In an interview he said: "Fighting has never ceased in Herat. Usually even in day time half of the city is in the hands of the mujahideen and during the night the resistance control is further expanded. Fighting goes on just behind the Royal Gardens, the residence of the governor. To the west of the city up to the Iranian border the areas are free. The villages of the free area are regularly and heavily bombed from the air. The enemy bombers are flying directly from the Soviet territory. About 300,000 inhabitants of the district are missing; some were killed, others have left the country. The few villagers who are still living in the ruins of their houses have a hard life: they are hiding during the day and come out at night and in the dark women prepare some meals and men work in the fields." ...

About Iran, Hanif said: "We are feeling some difficulties there. The Iranians are neither entirely on the side of the Afghan resistance nor completely pro-Russian. Transporting arms through Iran is extremely difficult." ... The resistance in Herat is in a rather difficult position: it is under direct pressure from Soviet territory, it has no easy access to the outside world, among other things it is suffering from a serious shortage of arms and ammunition, and the land being flat it has not the advantage of having mountain strongholds.

\* \* \*

A Prof. Nick Danzinger from Great Britain visited the AIC on 9/26. He left London six months ago with the intention of following the ancient silk route to China. From Mashhad in Iran he went to Herat. He found the Afghans in a strange position. He said: "They have two fronts, a front against the Russians and a front against the Iranians. The Pasdarans control everything the Afghans are fighting for, their arms, medicines and other supplies. In Herat the resistance is completely isolated, nobody talks about it, nobody pays any attention to it. I was only the 5th foreigner to visit the province since 1978."

He described the situation as "very, very serious." If there is no substantial help coming before the winter, Herat will be in trouble. This year the civil population has suffered deeply; aircraft coming in from the Soviet Union have carried out regular air raids; village after village was completely wiped out. For instance, Hauze Korbas, a village close to the city of Herat, has been completely destroyed; only one house is still standing. From 5,000 inhabitants he saw only 10 still living there. During his 3-week stay in Herat there were bombardments every day... He found the local population rather tired & commander Ismael Khan can do nothing - he has not enough weapons, no medical facilities, no clothes, no means to protect the population and help them rebuild their houses. The commander has a strong resistance organization but the KGB is also strong and he has to be very careful. In all those years of fighting Ismael Khan had only two days rest and that was when he went to meet Prof. Rabbani in Iran...

About the food situation, Danzinger said that the people are not yet starving as the majority of the population has left the country. The few who have stayed are able to find food and also provide the mujahideen with food. They came out during the night and worked in the fields but they were worried about the winter.

There were two resistance hospitals near Herat but the Russians bombed them each time they located them. Thus the mujahideen were forced to move them constantly. Wounded mujahideen were sent to Iran but were not receiving proper treatment there. In Mashhad the Jamyat office was full of wounded Afghans receiving no medical care. Danzinger said: "The Iranians have great internal problems. There are hundreds of conflicting trends, more than the Afghans have. Pasdarans are the strongest but they are afraid of the Russians & don't want to provoke them." Danzinger concluded: "The resistance is completely isolated and under heavy enemy pressure. If nothing is done in the coming 4 or 5 months, Herat is likely to fall."

He must be happy to learn of a development since publication - the passage by the American Congress of the resolution enabling overt aid. For those who wish to implement that aid, he has produced a concise and helpful study of the situation, with an appendix which sets forth the various resolutions of international bodies on Afghanistan's future.

Rhea Talley Stewart  
Manchester, Connecticut

RED FLAG OVER AFGHANISTAN. THE COMMUNIST COUP, THE SOVIET INVASION AND THE CONSEQUENCES. Thomas T. Hammond, Westview Press, Boulder, 1984. Paperback, 261 pp.

The good news is that Thomas Hammond, a professor at the University of Virginia, is one of the first to publish some of the US State Department documents from the days just before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The bad news is that he doesn't do anything much with them.

In the good old days, pre-Saur Revolution, Afghanistan was a regular stop for film-makers who specialized in travelogues of remote areas. These cinematographers knew all the general features of undeveloped countries. They had a pattern into which they would fit each country, without any profound knowledge of the country's idiosyncracies. What they produced was pictorially and superficially very good. Also successful. I can speak for Hartford, Connecticut, where each year a large auditorium is filled for four evenings to view such travelogues, and this has been going on for 40 years.

Professor Hammond has something in common with those film-makers. His specialty is Communist coups. And he does it very well. For the reader who approaches the subject with little background, here is a presentation culled largely from secondary sources. Such a reader will profit as the audiences in Hartford profit from those films on places to which they have never been.

I was taken to such a film on Afghanistan by friends who proudly escorted me backstage afterward and introduced me to the producer-speaker as an authority on the country in question. They expected a cosy chat about people and places in Afghanistan. Instead, the man backed away from me in horror. The last thing he wanted was to go one inch deeper than he had gone when he put that film into the can.

Well, I think Professor Hammond can go deeper than that, but on the whole Red Flag Over Afghanistan is for the general reader, not a specialist.

Rhea Talley Stewart  
Manchester, Connecticut

BEHIND RUSSIAN LINES: AN AFGHAN JOURNAL, Sandy Gall, St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1983.

Behind Russian Lines, an Afghan Journal is, at first glance, another addition to the "Great Game - Great Adventure" type of reportage with which we have become familiar since the first books began appearing concerning the Afghan resistance to the current Soviet-supported government of Afghanistan. The genre consists of first-hand reportage written by an assortment of would-be guerrillas, adventurers, journalists and individuals representing various combinations of the above with a bit of the "test myself - prove myself" bravado thrown in.



Sandy Gall, an experienced British journalist with many years of print and television reporting to his credit, has given us his version of the way it is, written as an account of a trip made with a crew of four to the Panjsher Valley during the autumn of 1982 to document on film for television some part of the Afghan story. Gall's account, thoughtfully subtitled "An Afghan Journal," records the adventures, misadventures and insights of this group in trying to get to and from "the front," in filming the "action," and in trying to make sense of what they encountered for presentation on television. Much of what Gall writes falls into the category of "Everyman's Afghan Adventure" - the incredible geography, the peculiarities of ethnic diversity, the seemingly odd confusion of cultural traits encountered there.

Fortunately for us, Gall's adventure led him to the Panjsher Valley and its enigmatic commander Masud. Gall's eye witness description of various encounters between Masud's forces and those of the government and his observations concerning the organization of this resistance group, their conditions, and the devastation caused by the struggle give this book a scope beyond the average Afghan diary.

There are times when the information is, perhaps, misinformation: "Being educated, he could speak Pashtu and was able to order tea from a small boy." (p. 30). Many Afghans are bilingual. Additionally, while Pashtu is spoken by many educated Afghans, it is generally Persian which is acknowledged to be the language of the "educated." And there are times when "journal"-ism lapses into melodrama:

"At 5:30, toiling upwards, we saw several helicopters overflying the valley below. As we climbed, one thought bubbled in my mind, coming and going with my labored breathing: we were moving away from the Russians but also further away from wherever our equipment was. What was happening about the equipment anyway? Pant. No one knew. Pant. Pant. Yahya could offer no real information; Masud had disappeared on more urgent matters and we were being driven along, like spume before the wind, by the Russian advance." (p. 81).

Quibbling aside, Gall's account of his expedition which resulted in a television documentary viewed by 7.6 million in Great Britain is worthwhile reading. Not only does the reader get a feel for the frustrations and overwhelming excitement involved in Afghan travel (at any time), but more importantly one comes away with an idea of the difficulties faced by the Afghan resistance and a better understanding of its problems in struggling against the far more powerful and technically superior government forces.

It is now five years since the Soviet invasion and except for the first week's newscasts, when, for a first and last time, Western television journalists brought Afghanistan "live" into the homes of the Western world via the evening news, it is only by means of such work as Gall's that we have been able to witness the struggle. Though not an account written to give the "big picture" concerning Afghanistan today, Behind Russian Lines should prove worthwhile reading for those who would better understand the struggle for Afghanistan only alluded to by infrequent newspaper or television reports.

Len Oppenheim  
New York City

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#### NEW PUBLICATIONS cont. from p. 28

A 5- YEAR SUMMARY OF THE AFGHANISTAN RESISTANCE & SOVIET OCCUPATION prepared by the US Dept. of State.

Two 1984 publications from the DRA Ministry of Public Affairs: ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE APRIL REVOLUTION IN AFGHANISTAN, & UN-DECLARED WAR (3rd revised & enlarged edition).

9/18 - Babrak told the Politburo that "the undeclared war of imperialism & reaction against the DRA had been intensified. Counter-revolutionary bands have been armed with various advanced weapons & the number of camps for training terrorists has been increased in Pakistan, China & Iran... the satanic role of the US has been much intensified." He also reported that 677 thousand hectares of land have been given to 307,867 families; the volume of the gross agricultural product increased 7.1% over 1978; 500,000 hectares of land have been irrigated; foreign trade will increase 1.7% this year & the GNP & national income (in 1983) increased 6% & 6.3% respectively compared with 1978. Over 1.5m people have attended literacy courses & each year an average of 300,000 children are enrolled in schools. "Finally, I should mention that had it not been for the undeclared war...our successes would have been much greater."

9/19 - Mehrabuddin Paktiawal, President of the Afghanistan Bank, led the Afghan delegation to the World Bank/IMF meetings in Washington.

- 7 new stamps were issued on the 40th anniversary of civil aviation in Afghanistan. A series of 7 stamps featuring old cars was also issued.

- The DRA & the USSR signed an agreement whereby the USSR will offer easy term credits of 100m rubles for the years 1985-1990. The USSR will give the DRA needed consumer goods, petroleum products, sugar, wheat, etc. Economic, scientific & technical cooperation will expand & the mining survey will be accelerated.

9/20 - Sulaiman Laeq, Min. of Nationalities & Tribal Affairs, hosted a reception for Khan Abdul Wali Khan, leader of the Pakistan Nat'l Democratic Party.

9/21 - Babrak told the 14th plenum of the PDPA CC that the 3 most important tasks facing the revolution are "to consolidate the ties of the party with the masses of the people & to expand the social bases of the revolutionary regime; All the political, organizational & military activities are to be directed toward the annihilation of the armed counter-revolution... The combat capability of the armed forces for war as well as for the struggle against banditism must be stepped up... there is

an acute need for the ever-further growth & consolidation of the party, its combat unity & its discipline..."

9/22 - The Iranian chargé d'affaires in Kabul was called to the Foreign Ministry & given a protest note: "Armed Iranian frontier forces have trespassed in Nimroz; soldiers of Sepah-e-Pasdar-e-Iran attacked an Afghan customs post at Islam-Qala, killing 2 guards & kidnapping an officer & 5 soldiers."

- A contract to reconstruct the Kabul-Hairatan highway was signed by the DRA & the USSR. The DRA will purchase over 3m rubles worth of road repair equipment.

- 1,500 people have joined the Nangarhar NFF since 3/20/84, 560 more than joined during the same period last year.

9/23 - Over 900 students have registered for night courses at Kabul Univ. The night school offers degrees in social science, economics, literature & pedagogy. "The night facilities have greatly assisted high school graduates who due to economic problems were not able to continue education & had to seek employment in government branches."

- French journalist Jacques Abouchar was captured near Spin Boldak on 9/13 by DRA security forces. "A number of documents, including instruments & special cameras for collecting spying information were seized from Abouchar."

- The KNT claims that "reactionary circles & world imperialism are striving to hamper the talks of proximity between the DRA & Pakistan" being held under UN auspices. "The 3 rounds of Geneva talks have shown the genuine desire of Afghanistan for peace... but at the same time have exposed the hypocrisy of the military rulers of Pakistan, who are mere puppets of Washington."

9/24 - The 1st mechanized agricultural station was established in Balkh in 1981 with Soviet assistance. Other stations now operate in Jauzjan, Baghlan, Kabul & Herat. The stations' income in 1984 was Afs. 22.2m.

- The Ariana DC-10 en route from Kandahar to Kabul was hit by "a missile of the counter-revolution" & the left engine was "seriously damaged." The plane landed safely & there were no casualties. Ariana President Qay M. Basharyar said counter-revolutionary action was creating problems for the 3,000 Afghan hajis who expect to return home.

9/26 - Mahmoud Baryalai, Sec'y of the PDPA CC, returned from visits to Ethiopia & Poland.

- Raz Moh'd Pakteen, Min. of Power, said that the repair work on the power poles damaged by the counter-revolutionaries on 8/23 should be completed in 10 days.

- The Pioneers Organization celebrated its 4th anniversary. It has over 95,000 members.

9/27 - Communications Minister Moh'd Aslam Watanjar opened the direct telephone channel between the DRA & India.

- Afghan foreign trade has more than doubled since 1978. The DRA trades with over 60 countries. Natural gas, fresh & dried fruit, wool, carpets & rugs & karakul pelts are the DRA's main exports.

- The DYOA has over 12,000 members. 48% of new Party members are from the DYOA. The DYOA issues 50,000 copies of its daily paper Darafsh-e-Jawanan, 25,000 copies of its monthly Stonj, & "tens of thousands" of copies of its monthly Pioneer.

- Babrak visited Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

- Babrak chaired a meeting of the Politburo of the PDPA CC. The forthcoming "elections of the local organs" were discussed as was the NFF and its role as "the social bulwark of the revolutionary government."

9/30 - The BIA political observer writes: "According to the Indian press, anti-Afghan bands are now being speedily transferred along the high-mountain Karakorum Highway linking Pakistan and China. In this way an agreement on restationing part of the Afghan counter-revolutionary camps from Pakistan to China is being put into effect. The agreement was reached during the last visit of the Pakistani Foreign Minister Yacub Ali Khan to China." The report continues: "The bandits will be trained in camps located in the south of China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Area. Each group...is accompanied by Pakistani officers who then train them jointly with American & Chinese instructors. The bandits are taught to handle the latest American weapons, surface-to-air missiles included."

- The DRA charged Iran with the violation of DRA air space by an Iranian Nat'l Airlines plane flying from Peking to Tehran.

10/1 - There was an increase of 4,500 head of karakul sheep in the DRA last year; karakul production was up 100% & sales brought in over \$10m.

- Haqiqat-e-Engelab-e Saur, reports (quoting from a "letter from Iran") that over 25,000 Afghans living in Iran are engaged in smuggling. They constitute 22% of the "total number of smugglers in Iran." They are "abetted by Sepah-e-Pasdaran and may also engage in destructive activities in Afghanistan & Iran." Many are sent to the Iran-Iraq war front.

- Afridi tribal elders expressed their "unswerving support" to the April Revolution at a meeting in Jalalabad.

- The DRA denied Pakistan's charges of air-space violations in the Teri Mangal region on 9/27.

10/2 - In the past 6 months, 70,000 children have been enrolled in primary schools.

- Since 1978, 176 "productive private enterprises in the sphere of light industries" have been established.

- Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Khan Abdul Wali Khan & Begum Naim Wali left Kabul. Seeing them off at the airport were Anahita Ratebzad, Najibullah, Gen Moh'd Rafi, Moh'd Aslam Watanjar, Gen Abdul Qadir, Mahmoud Baryalai, Zohor Razemjo, Ismail Danesh, Niaz Moh'd Momand, Mir Saheb Karwal plus a number of Kabul's Pashtoons. Sulaiman Laeq accompanied the party to Jalalabad.

10/3 - The Afghan Writer's Union has 680 members & is marking its 4th anniversary.

10/4 - Sultan Ali Keshtmand opened a 3-story, well-equipped polyclinic which is part of a 200-bed hospital under construction in Kabul.

- The DRA Special Revolutionary Court sentenced 9 terrorists to death and 1 (a teenager) to a year's imprisonment for their part in the bomb blast at Kabul airport on 8/31/ 84. One of the criminals "confessed... his close link with a US CIA spy."

10/6 - The "Nargis Ensemble" left Kabul for a concert tour of the USSR, Czechoslovakia & the GDR. Ensemble members include Ustad Mahwash, Khial, Gul Zaman & Salim Sarmast.

10/9 - The DRA accused Pakistan of firing on Afghan helicopters (damaging 2) in the Barikot region of Kunar Province on 10/5.

10/9 - The BIA political observer is unhappy with the US Congress' Resolution on Afghanistan (see p. ). "Washington is prepared to draw the last Afghan to war without taking into account what casualties this war will bring to the innocent people of Afghanistan."

- Pushtoon & Baluch students joined Kabul Univ.'s youth organization in marking the 1st anniversary of the Victims of the 7th of October. (In a demonstration for Baluch and Pushtoon rights in Quetta last year, some participants were killed.)

- Babrak addressed the Defense Ministry calling for the political staffs of the armed forces to improve their political awareness. He said that cadres should be elected on the basis of their qualifications & aptitudes, not on the basis of "family, tribal, group & nationalistic relations & nepotism." He said the "undeclared war is ruthlessly expanding by every passing day" and that the "preparedness of the armed forces should be upgraded."

- An athletic cultural agreement was signed by the DRA & Hungary. Afghans will go to Hungary for sports events & Hungary will give the DRA athletic equipment.

10/10 - Sikhs & Hindus living in the DRA pledged their full support to the gov't.

10/13 - Sarwar Mangal inaugurated the Wahr-e-Lashkar pumping station in Nimroz. The station will irrigate 6,000 hectares.

10/14 - "A big new automatic telephone station was inaugurated in Kabul by Sultan Ali Keshtmand. The station "provides telephone seats [sic] for 7 regions... including the Int'l Airport."

- A mine exploded in Gulbuddin's office in Faqirabad killing 2 of his body guards. Gulbuddin was not there. Sayyaf's car was fired upon on the Lahore highway & one of his commanders was injured.

10/16 - Development projects in the DRA in the last Afghan year were totally financed from internal sources for the 1st time since 1978 at a cost of Afs. 57 billion, according to Sultan Ali Keshtmand. He also said that \$120m of foreign aid & \$36m credit of the Central Bank were used to complete a number of projects last year. The State role in the national economy has risen by 20% since the April Revolution.

10/17 - Over 3m hectares of land are under cultivation in the DRA, 1,600 more than last year. Cereal production has risen 2%.

- Reports from Iran indicate that armed clashes have taken place between Hezb-e-Islami & Jamiat-e-Islami groups & between Harakat & Mahaz-e-Milli groups.

- The High Investment Committee met & approved the investment of Afs. 482m in metal-lurgy, thread, aluminum pots, plastic shoe, acid making, confectionery, carpet making and fruit processing projects.

10/18 - Turialay Moh'd Ghashhaly, a film photographer & director, died in Kabul at age 43.

- New films in the DRA are "Tears & Laughter of Green Farm," "Girl in a White Shirt," "Success is our Fortune," & "Village." "Escape" & "Eventually" won awards in the Tashkent Film Festival.

10/20 - Relics found at the Maranjan Hill excavation include a gold pot, a sculpture of a man's head, the head of a cow's statue and "fingers of a stocky statue of Buddha inlaid with iron, considered as one of the rare relics unique in Afghanistan." The second stage of excavation of the site has started.

- Jacques Abouchar, a French reporter, was sentenced to 18 years in prison for "trespassing in the DRA" and collaborating with a "counter-revolutionary armed band."

10/21 - Members of the British Communist Party are visiting the DRA.

- A tv station was opened in Kandahar. It will operate 2 hours a day.

10/22 - Counter-revolutionary elements have been crushed in Ningarhar, Baghlan & Kunduz Provinces.

10/23 - The Soviets annually provide the DRA with 10,000 tons of wheat seeds, from 2-10,000 tons of cotton seeds, 30-35,000 tons of beet seeds & over 29,000 tons of fertilizer.

10/26 - The Chairman of the French Nat'l Assembly sent a message to Babrak requesting the release of Jacques Abouchar. "In view of the message, Babrak Karmal remitted Jacques Abouchar despite his heavy offense... It has also been pointed out in the reply message that a delegation of the Nat'l Assembly of France ought to come to Kabul to accompany Jacques Abouchar to France..."

- 10/27 - The Pakistani charge d'affaires in Kabul was given a protest note regarding Pakistan's aggression in the Jaji region of Afghanistan. Several soldiers & civilians were wounded & several houses destroyed by weapons fired from Pakistan.
- The WDOA has over 22,000 members.
  - Construction began on a school for physiotherapy near the Wazir Akbar Khan hospital.
  - Jacques Abouchar, accompanied by a delegation from the Nat'l Council of France left Kabul. Yves Tavernier led the French delegation which had met with Dep. Foreign Minister Sarwar Yurish.
- 10/29 - The USSR will supply the DRA with tools & technical assistance for 45 deep wells & 15 ordinary wells to irrigate 1.8m hectares of land in south and southwest Afghanistan. The total cost will be 7.5m rubles to be financed from long-term credits. 18 wells will be dug by the end of the current Afghan year.
- 10/30 - Power transmission lines between Kabul-Sorobi & Kabul-Naghpo have been repaired.
- US journalist Mike Davidow has written a book, Afghan Diary, after his 1983 visit to the DRA. "Confidence in the future - this I met everywhere in the DRA... I saw it at the crowded, colorful bazaars of Kabul, in its teeming streets, in the factories where a working class is emerging, in the children of the Shanee village who eagerly participated in spontaneous English lessons..."
- 11/1 - Party membership has increased from 15,000 to 120,000 since 1978. A history of the PDPA has been published by Haqiqat-e-Engelab-e-Saur for the 20th anniversary of the PDPA to be celebrated on 1/1/85.
- The DRA claimed that Pakistani gunfire damaged 2 helicopters near Barikot on 10/29.
- 11/2 - Sultan Ali Keshtmand & Mahmoud Baryalai attended Mrs. Gandhi's funeral in India.
- 11/3 - The 1st emergency room was inaugurated at the Avicenna Hospital in Kabul. It has a laboratory, X-ray & operating room; 6 new ambulance units on 24-hour duty, 12 medical teams & 15 beds. Medical care there is free.
- 11/4 - The DRA & the USSR signed a protocol for cooperation in radio & tv for 1985.
- Since 3/20/84 over 700,000 patients have been treated in Kabul hospitals; 155,648 patients have been treated in the provinces.
  - A "counter-revolutionary rocket" killed 5, injured 16, destroyed 3 houses & damaged 23, and burned "a marketplace full of merchandise" in Kabul. Those who lost houses were given flats in Microrayan. Babrak visited the area on 11/5.
  - The 9 bandits who were sentenced to death for the August airport blast were executed yesterday.
- 11/6 - "Two deceived Afghans were killed & a number ...injured in a clash...near a camp in Peshawar City between the security forces of Pakistan & the deceived Afghans..."
- 11/7 - "The American big monopolists once again sent to the White House the representatives of the most reactionary & war-mongering circles for another four years."
- The role of the state in DRA foreign trade was ca. 57% & amounted to over \$88m in the first quarter of the current Afghan year. Its share in imports was about 40%. Over 69% of the Afghan commodities were exported to "barter regions & socialist markets."
  - 870 children, mostly orphans aged 7-9, left for the USSR for 10 years' education.
- 11/10 - Over Afs. 4m of peasant's debts have been waived by the DRA.
- 11/12 - The mid-year economic reports show an increase of "2.3 thousand" hectares of land under cultivation over last year, a 13.1% increase in food stuff production over the plan target & a 50% increase in construction activities. "The Council of Ministers adopted special measures for the elimination of deficiencies & shortcomings, for improving the financial position of the country, increasing state revenue & economizing the state expenditures."
- 11/13 - A delegation led by Dep. Foreign Minister Sarwar Yurish returned from a visit to North Korea.
- 11/17 - Over Afs. 272m worth of cotton was purchased from growers in Helmand Prov. between 9/22 & 11/12.
- A new telephone exchange was inaugurated in Shibarghan in Jauzjan Prov. on Friday. It cost Afs. 17m of which \$90,000 came from the GDR.
- 11/18 - UNICEF is helping the DRA run a vaccination program to inoculate over 140,000 children against 6 diseases.
- The Politburo met & reviewed the price situation in the DRA. It voted a "substantial increase in the wages & salaries of the low-income wage earners & unskilled workers." The Politburo "took a critical view of the process of enrollment in the DYOA & stressed the need



for strict observance of the principle of voluntary membership."

11/19 - The DRA protested to Pakistan about border incursions in Kunar & Paktia on 11/16 & 17.

- The Dep. Foreign Minister of Cuba arrived in Kabul.

- The 1st conference to honor Ustad Kamal-uddin Behzad, the famous Herati miniature painter, was held in Kabul. A booklet on his work was distributed to participants.

11/20 - The Politburo & the RC "have approved a joint resolution calling for an intensive effort to publicize the deeds of the heroes & martyrs of the April Revolution, keep alive their memories & render material & moral support to their families. In order to keep the names...eternal, educational & cultural establishments, hospitals, residential areas, etc., should be named after them."

- A new TV studio, built with UNICEF assistance, was inaugurated in Kabul for recording & editing educational programs.

11/21 - Over 1,000 Karkar coal miners in Baghlan rallied to express solidarity with striking British miners.

11/22 - A library was recently opened in Hairatan bringing the DRA library total to 40 with over 1/2m books.

- Over 90,000 children belong to the Pioneers of Afghanistan & over 450 Pioneer Guides have been sent abroad for education.

11/24 - The Postal Dept. has earned over Afs. 31m since 3/20/84 & has issued "43 kinds of new postal tickets." A Kabul-Moscow TV transmission channel will be set up soon. A new TV station opened in Herat. It will operate 2 hours/day.

11/25 - The PDPA has relations with 52 "fraternal communist parties" & "links" with 51 friendly parties.

- A barter trade protocol for 1985 was signed by the DRA & the USSR as were agreements for the import of commodities worth rubles 15m. The "trade turnover" between the 2 countries will be increased 11% next year. The USSR will also deliver 100,000 tons of wheat & 70,000 tons of sugar.

- Bandit rockets killed 4 & injured 17 in two "working-class" districts of Kabul.

- 3 counter-revolutionaries were sentenced to death in Ghazni.

11/26 - a 9-room Watan Nursery was opened in Jauzjan. 20 local NFF councils have been established in Kunduz. Construction recently began on a tv station in Faizabad in Badakhshan.

11/28 - A "technical & transportation center for petroleum tankers" [garagê? ed.] is under construction in Kabul.

11/29 - The DRA publishes 48 Magazines & 30 newspapers.

- The Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization met in Kabul from 11/29-12/3 to discuss the New Int'l Information Order.

12/2 - Kabul Univ. will offer M.A. degrees in all major disciplines by 1989.

12/3 - Gen. Abdul Qadir was named alternate member of the PDPA CC Politburo & 1st VP of the RC Presidium. Gen. Nazar Mohammad, PDPA member & former chief of the central staff of the Defense Ministry is the new Minister of Defense.

12/6 - The DRA & the People's Republic of Benin have established diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level.

12/10 - The volume of trade between the DRA & Czechoslovakia will increase by 12% in 1985. The Czechs will finance a number of industrial & mining projects & will advise the DRA on energy, transport, economics & feasibility studies.

- The National Archives has a microfilm system. "For the enrichment of this cultural treasury, over 2,000 books, 10,000 mss., ca. 2,000 historical photos, over 600 various kinds of albums, 14 calendars & more than 600 postal stamps worth more than Afs. 6m have been purchased from individuals & the bazaar."

- Agreements on culture & literature were signed with Poland & on mechanized agriculture with the USSR.

12/11 - An exhibition of contemporary Afghan painting opened to mark the upcoming anniversary of the PDPA.

- An Afs. 10m seed quality control laboratory opened yesterday.

12/12 - "The Revolutionary Heart," a collection of revolutionary poems by Noor Moh'd Ghamgeen, is "the first ever" book published in the Pashai language.

## BABRAK GIVES INTERVIEW

Prem Chand Arya of All-India Radio interviewed Babrak; Bakhtar reported the conversation on 9/18. Excerpts follow:

Q: What is the percentage of those Afghans who participate in fighting against your adversaries?

A: The armed defense of the gains of the revolution, independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the DRA is conducted and organized under the leadership of the PDPA. The working strata and classes of our society are defending their revolution and homeland in different ways, within the framework of different militant organizations, against the exported counter-revolution and professional mercenaries. Our people, by being organized in the revolution defense groups, self-defense system, civil defense, tribal defense groups, tribal battalions, groups of revolutionary soldiers, alongside the militant armed forces, equipped with modern weapons, constitute the firm and iron fist of revolution. More than 120,000 members of the PDPA and more than 120,000 members of the DYOA are enthusiastically ready at any moment to render a shattering blow to the provocations and aggressions of the enemies. The armed forces of the DRA comprising Army, Tsarandoy and the State Information Services are equipped with the knowledge and profession of revolutionary war and tactics and strategy against the counter-revolution and bandits..."

Q: In which spheres has Afghanistan become self-sufficient?

A: To answer this question, I should mention that the economic strategy of the PDPA and the DRA is based on the specific, scientific and deep assessment of the objective and subjective conditions of our country. The central goal in this strategy is the harmonious development of the factors influencing different fields of our economy aimed at the fundamental changes in the production relations and the establishment of material and cultural bases for a new society... To change an underdeveloped country with a system of feudal and pre-feudal production relations to a developed industrial and agricultural country, time and tenacity are needed. This has its specific place in the economic strategy of our party. It should be mentioned that we have inherited from the previous anti-people regimes serious backwardness and a very slow rate of development. Afghanistan has vast human and natural resources and potentials for development and prosperity. I can state with confidence that in case the undeclared war against our revolution, country and our toiling people is terminated, we will be able to achieve self-sufficiency in various spheres, particularly in the field of agriculture and we would even be able to export our agricultural products...

Q: What is your opinion of the internal situation?

A: In our country the national democratic revolution has succeeded and ended the prolonged rule of feudals, compradors and high ranking state bureaucrats and as a whole the oppressive ruling circles related to the imperialists. The victory of revolution in a natural way caused the reaction of the overthrown ruling circles and classes and on the other hand with the victory of our revolution the imperialism headed by US imperialism has seen their so-called vital interests in the region to be endangered and by using the reactionaries and counter-revolution Afghan escapees and with the collusion of the Peking hegemonists started the undeclared war. Unfortunately the mistakes and adventurism which took place in the first 1½ years of revolution indirectly helped imperialism and its allies... Now it is more than six years



that our people are heroically struggling for the defense of the achievements of the revolution, accepting the numerous sacrifices against the undeclared war of reaction and hegemonism. The course of events in recent years indicates the gradual annihilation of the counter-revolution and consolidation of the social bases of the revolution... Our people are rapidly realizing the truth of the revolution and they not only broadly condemn the counter-revolution but they actively participate in the armed struggle against them. The enemies of our revolution with economic terrorism, sabotage, terror, murder and launching of false propaganda were trying to compel our people to retreat from the path they had chosen. But the wise approach by the revolutionary state against terror and oppression of the counter-revolution and the effectiveness of the policy having been followed has resulted in the realization of our people about the stupidity of counter-revolution and their lack of capability in prevention of an acceptable alternative in relation to the revolutionary policy of the state of the DRA, and on the other hand they observe practically and clearly the possibility of realization of their aspirations in the revolutionary policies of the DRA... Today we are more than ever stronger in crushing the counter-revolution, construction of a new society and the implementation of the policy of the revolutionary party and state. Compared to all times in our historical country, also in the international arena despite the treacherous intrigues of imperialists and their allies, we possess the necessary prestige and credibility... Our revolution is invincible and all our enemies know that very well. We look, with scientific and true revolutionary optimism, to the future. The time is on the side of our revolution. We are right. The definite majority of our people are defending the revolution and as a result our victory is inevitable.

Q: In your view, how long do the armed forces of the DRA need to rebuff the foreign intervention without foreign assistance?

A: ...I must say that this is directly related to the amount of the assistance given by powerful imperialist forces, the USA in particular, to the armed counter-revolutionaries, the scale and dimension of which regrettably expands day by day. ...In the course of the undeclared war the USA as its sponsor has so far spent more than \$800m. Aid coming from other countries such as West Germany, Japan, China, Saudi Arabia, Britain, France and other countries plus the US assistance exceeds \$ 1 billion. The appropriation of an additional \$1m by the appropriations committee of the US Senate for the current fiscal year, in addition to the hundred millions of dollars provided secretly through the CIA and another \$75m indicates that the dimension of aggression and direct imperialist interference...is on the increase. The kind of undeclared war our country is facing is in reality an aggression by imperialist countries against our territorial integrity, national sovereignty and independence of our country and this..is a link in the total aggressive strategy of the USA, the ultimate goal of which is the gaining of an unchallenged domination over the world in general and over the South Asian region in particular. A small country like Afghanistan could not confront such an extensive world wide imperialist aggression. The limited contingents of Soviet troops who have come on the legitimate request of the legitimate government of the DRA, and in accordance with the 51st article of the UN Charter and the Treaty of Friendship of 12/5/78 between the two countries which is registered officially in the UN for the repulsing of imperialist aggression and defending our territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence. By the time the need for inviting these limited military contingents is removed, foreign interference stopped and international guarantees for its non-recurrence given, the question of the return of these military contingents to their peaceful land can be discussed between the two fraternal countries. This is also the principled stance taken by the Soviet Union.

## TELEPHONE

PDPA Central Committee: 25741.44.  
Kabul City Party Committee: 41143.  
Kabul Provincial Party Committee: 40475.  
Kabul Univ. 40361.

Int'l Trunk Call: 20365.  
Public Library: 23166.  
Radio-TV: 20341.  
DYO: 23431.  
NFF: 40415.

WDOA: 21395.  
Visa and Passport Office: 21759.  
Afghan Film: 21661.  
Afghan Tour: 30323.  
Ariana Airlines: 24771.  
Bakhtar Airlines: 24043.  
continued on last page

MOSCOW, Dec. 2 — When Pvt. Aleksandr Pankratov died last June in Afghanistan defending his Soviet comrades from an insurgent ambush, his father's grief was mixed with pride. "He died fulfilling his internationalist duty on the army newspaper, Krasnaya Zvezda. "Now it is my greatest wish to serve out my son's remaining year, to complete his military duty to his homeland."

As the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan drags toward its fifth anniversary this month, it is clear that the war is not resulting in the domestic backlash that the Vietnam War stirred in the United States. In talks with people around Moscow, both young and old, no sign emerges of a discontent that could force Kremlin leaders to bring the boys home soon.

"I don't know if you would call this a popular war," a Moscow scholar said privately. "But certainly it is not an unpopular war. People just don't worry that much about it. I don't know of any sort of protest, public or private."

Commenting on newspaper reports like the one in Krasnaya Zvezda, in which Russian soldiers are portrayed as selflessly helping defend Afghanistan from American-inspired aggression, he said, "I don't know if the stories they tell are actually true ones or not, but they seem to fit the mood of the public."

#### 'We'll Show Them'

The scholar's own teen-age son, who is in his last year of high school, said none of his draft-age friends opposed the war. "More or less, it's a popular war," he said. "People say: 'Aha, the Americans wanted to grab Afghanistan. We'll show them.'"

Some of his friends plan to volunteer for service in Afghanistan, he said.

But his father, like some American parents during the Vietnam War, is hoping that his son will be able to avoid his "internationalist duty" with a medical deferment.

Ever since the Soviet Union sent troops across its southern border into Afghanistan just after Christmas in December 1979, it has portrayed the action as a rescue mission on behalf of a pro-Soviet Government under siege by what it calls counterrevolutionaries.

It blames meddling by the United States, Pakistan, China and Saudi Arabia for the continued conflict and has managed to draw parallels for its own citizens between the Afghan war and the Russian defense of its homeland against Nazi invaders in World War II.

"This is why Russia wins its wars," the scholar said. "People defend the Russian land. And in this they are ready to undergo any hardship, any loss."

#### Preparing Public for a Long War

In recent weeks the Soviet press has been addressing this attitude in articles that appear to be preparing readers for a prolonged war. Because of stepped-up interference by the backers of Afghan resistance bands, the press is saying, there is not yet any light at the end of the Afghan tunnel.

A recent article in the Government newspaper Izvestia put it this way: "The reasons for Afghanistan's invitation of a limited Soviet contingent would disappear if all forms of aggression against that country were halted and a guarantee given that it would not be resumed."

The sooner this aggression ends, the paper said, the sooner there can be some agreement about the removal of Soviet troops.

"However," it said, "judging by the current attitudes of Washington and Islamabad toward the political regulation of the situation around Afghanistan, war against Afghanistan is more dear to them than peace in Southeast Asia."

#### 10,000 Casualties 'Not Very Large'

The Russians publish no figures on their deployments in Afghanistan, but most Western estimates reach upward of 100,000 Soviet troops in that country. Casualty estimates vary, but tend to be in the neighborhood of 10,000 killed in the last five years.

"This is not a very large number for our country," a Communist Party member said. "That is the number who died in just one day during World War II. There is not the feeling we had then of every family losing someone."

Nevertheless, the Soviet press, which in the past has confined itself to describing good works performed by troops in Afghanistan, has in recent months begun to depict Soviet soldiers in combat, suffering casualties, dying and winning medals.

Western military analysts in Moscow say this shift could reflect a feeling that the harsh side of war cannot be entirely avoided, or could be a result of pressure by the military for more recognition of its deeds.

#### Reporting on the Fighting

These reports still refrain from describing any planned or aggressive Soviet military action, and they depict casualties as occurring in ambushes of truck convoys, in the clearing of mines or in helicopters ferrying supplies.

The story of a young paratrooper, Nikolai Chepik, which was told in the party newspaper Pravda, combines some of the main elements of the picture being presented of the Afghan war: the savagery of the enemy, the parallels with the bravery of Russian troops who defended the motherland in World War II, the defensive nature of Soviet engagements, the suggestion that the attackers are based outside Afghanistan.

In the words of a comrade, this is what happened to Nikolai Chepik:

"The bandits were wreaking havoc in the west. They robbed and killed everyone who supported the people's Government. They cut off the hands of the schoolchildren. They burned down a school, letting no one escape. You know these things well from the last war. Now we in the young generation are witnessing these things for ourselves. The bandits fell on us suddenly, at dawn early in February. Things went badly for us. Nikolai himself was badly wounded. He collected the re-

maining grenades, and when they surrounded him, he set them all off. With his dear life he saved his comrades and annihilated more than 30 bandits who had come over the mountains onto Afghan territory."

Meanwhile, the press continues to depict a country following in the revolutionary footsteps of its Russian brothers, learning to bake Russian pies and to play volleyball, and naming its children after Russian heroes. The Russian soldiers are portrayed as building schools, digging wells and bringing electric light for the first time to backward villages.

On a recent television program, a colonel told of showing villagers a film about Lenin. "A fire burned in their eyes," he said. "They listened with attention and joy. They were full of questions: Who was Lenin? How did we set up our revolution? How did we overcome our opponents?"

A Moscow novelist said this vision of a primitive people learning civilized ways is one aspect of the Afghan situation that is readily accepted by Russians. "We see how poor the Afghans are how dirty," he said. "Our boys give them pieces of sugar, and they have never seen sugar before. We are bringing them a better way of life."

These reports illustrate what both Westerners and Russians see as a major difference domestically between the Vietnam and Afghan conflicts.

"This is a system where mass information is completely controlled," said a Soviet historian, speaking privately. "They can present exactly the picture they want to, to accomplish their needs. In this way, the average Russian knows nothing of Afghanistan. If the war came into their living rooms on television, we would have something entirely different."

Since the war is not affecting the daily lives of Russians or being forced on their attention by television, there is little ground for opposition here.

As the novelist put it: "In general, the Soviet people are very obedient. They listen to what they are told, and they believe it."



Russian soldiers being greeted by villagers in Halirhana, Afghanistan, according to caption from Tass, which indicated the attitude of most Afghans was "sincere hospitality and profound gratitude." The Soviet press, which has written much about good deeds by soldiers, is now giving more publicity to combat and casualties.

# CHRONOLOGY

9/4 - Refugees - The UNHCR committed \$7.5m for assistance to Afghan refugees in Iran. Iran estimates it has 1,885,000 registered refugees.

9/10 - SCMP - Curfew in Kabul was extended from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m.  
- PT - An airlift bringing the bodies of 25,000 goats from Mina in Saudi Arabia to Pakistan began on Eid ul-Adha. The goats were sacrificed by Hadj pilgrims. The carcasses were then frozen & packed in plastic bags under "int'l hygienic conditions" for shipment to Peshawar & Quetta for Afghan refugees.

9/11 - SCMP - Radio Kabul reported that "troublemakers" had set fire to the Maulana Khasta Library in Mazar-i-Sharif.

9/13 - PT - The Soviets launched an unexpected attack on the Panjsher on 9/5. (See 9/19)  
- Mujahideen have suspended operations in Ghazni until the wheat crop is harvested.

9/15 - PT - Afghan planes bombed Satra Shikra in Pakistan's North Waziristan Prov. There were no casualties but this was the 10th air space violation since 8/13.

- Mujahideen repulsed DRA attacks on their hideouts near Yakhchal on the Kandahar-Herat highway in Helmand Prov.  
- HK Standard - Abdul Halim Mutawakil, a resistance commander from Wardak, appealed to the US for food & weapons in a news conference in Washington.

9/17 - Jacques Abouchar, a French journalist was captured. See p.11 for the full story.

- SCMP - Eight Afghans including former Kabul Univ. prof., Dr. Abdul Hayee, were executed in Kabul for anti-revolutionary activities.

9/18 - NYT - Two former Afghan Army generals & 4 Government officials defected to Pakistan.

9/19 - NYT - Over 200 guerrillas were reported killed in the Soviet's 9/5 attack on the Panjsher. Also circulating was a report that Soviet soldiers captured some women in Ghazni, stripped them & threw them from helicopters.

9/19 - NYT - The entire Ariana Airline staff (3) in New Delhi defected protesting the killing of innocent civilians by DRA forces.

9/22 - PT - Gambian President Sir Al-Haj Dawada Kairaba Gawara, visiting Pakistan, expressed his support for the Afghan people.  
- Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan & Andrei Gromyko met on 9/20 in New York & had "useful & frank" talks about the Afghan situation.

9/23 - PT - An Afghan Air Force plane landed at Miram Shah in North Waziristan. The pilot & crew asked for asylum.

9/24 - SCMP - Babrak was quoted by Pravda as saying that 23,000 guerrillas had been killed since last spring. Another 2,000 had been captured.

- Reportedly 84 members of Rabbani's Jamiat-e-Islami group have been executed in Kabul.

9/25 - NYT - Pres. Reagan addressing the UN mentioned Afghanistan:

In Afghanistan, the dedicated efforts of the Secretary General and his representatives to find a diplomatic settlement have our strong support. I assure you that the United States will continue to do everything possible to find a negotiated outcome which provides the Afghan people with the right to determine their own destiny, allows the Afghan refugees to return to their own country and dignity and protects the legitimate security interests of all neighboring countries.

9/26 - CSM - Edward Girardet writes of his 3-month trek in Afghanistan. "...From all indications, this year has been the hardest, the most gruesome of the war so far. Not only have the Soviets intensified their operations against the Afghan resistance, but they also have systematically stepped up acts of terror & intimidation against civilians.

While the *mujahideen*, or holy warriors, as the guerrillas are called, are known to have suffered devastating setbacks in some areas, they have tended to hold their own. According to Western intelligence reports and journalists who have witnessed several attacks against government and Soviet convoys and bases this year, the resistance may be inflicting higher casualties on the Red Army than before. It is thought that the Soviets are also taking substantial losses by conducting more exposed commando-style operations inside guerrilla territory.

For Afghan civilians, however, the future looks grim. Although some regions such as the valleys of Nuristan in the northeast and the central highlands of the Hazarajat have been spared the full thrust of war in recent years, most provinces have suffered badly.



# Business carries on in Kabul

ALEX BRODIE

A Russian battle tank was parked beside the road in Kabul. Behind it, waiting in line, were ten local taxis. The driver of the tank, plastic tube in hand, was syphoning off his fuel and selling it to the Afghan taxi drivers.

Such is one reality of war, as witnessed by an East European diplomat, during one of the recurrent fuel shortages in the Afghan capital Kabul.

Another foreign resident of the city tells of waiting in a shop—this time the shortage was soap—when a Soviet soldier came in with a small pack of cubes of Russian, army-issue soap. How much? he asked. 'Four afghanis' each, replied the shopkeeper. OK, 'I'll bring you 10,000 tomorrow,' the soldier replied. (The approximate exchange rate is 5/ afghanis = \$1).

New postage stamps are emblazoned with a revolutionary portrait of Lenin, yet Kabul has a thriving, not to say ram-

phant, free enterprise economy. Kabul remains in business as a crossroads of international Asian trade.

War or no war, it is still possible for a group of would-be entrepreneurs to club together, fly to West Germany, buy a Mercedes truck and load it up with a container of consumer goods. They then drive overland to Kabul and sell most of the cargo.

The image of Kabul as a war-shattered city isolated from the world is exaggerated. It is at war, but it is not isolated. There is a sizeable non-Soviet and non-Afghan population, and a regular traffic of travellers in and out.

Asked Kabul is not another Siberia for Soviet officials. On the contrary, there are numerous stories about Russians trying to extend their stay. Luxury food, including from Europe and Japan, is more plentiful in Kabul than in Moscow and the Russians get

good exchange rates for their roubles. Electronic goods are available in abundance.

As an Australian diplomat, just returned, puts it: 'There is a demand and the Kabulis are traders. They will satisfy it.'

Some consumer luxuries do, however, go astray.

One Embassy ordered two container-loads of goods from Justensons, diplomatic suppliers in Copenhagen. They came overland, through the Soviet Union and down the Salang highway. One got through. One was hijacked by guerrillas of the celebrated Commander Massoud, of the Panjshir Valley.

A message reached the Embassy in question, in Kabul, asking for a ransom for the return of the goods.

The Ambassador tried to bargain: 'Why not just take a bit and send the rest on?' he asked the intermediary. Meanwhile a senior Soviet

officer in the Panjshir region had got wind of all this. He sent a message to Massoud offering to top any ransom paid by the Embassy. The Ambassador heard of this counter-offer, managed to persuade his Government to release special funds, paid off Massoud and, finally, took delivery of the goods.

But in Kabul the war is always evident. The Russian presence has an air of permanence about it. At the airport, the length of the runway is taken up with transport planes and helicopter-gunships. Work in progress seems to be aimed either at doubling the length of the runway or building a new one.

To the west of the airport, the Russian base stretches into the distance with rows and rows of tanks. Settlements nearby have been cleared to create a cordon sanitaire. There is a constant noise of helicopters. — P.T. Observer Service.

## EXTERNAL SERVICES OF RADIO AFGHANISTAN

NO	PROGRAMME	TIME		FREQUENCIES	
		LOCAL	G. M. T.	KHZ	METER BANDS
1	BALUCHI	06:00 07:00	07:30 08:30	4 450, 9 595, 15 360 6 230	67.4, 31.2, 19.6 49
2	PASHTU	07:00 09:00	08:30 10:30	4 450, 9 595, 15 360 6 230	67.4, 31.2, 19.6 49
3	DA WATAN GHAG	11:30 13:30	07:00 09:00	4 450, 17 720, 21 460 6 230	67.4, 16.9, 13.9 49
4	ENGLISH 1	13:30 15:00	09:00 10:30	4 450, 17 720, 21 460 6 230	67.4, 16.9, 13.9 49
5	URDU	17:00-19:00 18:00-19:00	12:30-13:30 13:30-14:30	4 450, 11 960, 15 255 6 230	67.4, 25.08, 19.6 49
6	DA WATAN GHAG	19:00-21:00 21:00-21:30	14:30-16:30 15:30-17:00	4 450, 11 960, 15 255 6 230, 4 450, 11 960, 15 255	67.4, 25.08, 19.6 49, 67.4, 25.08, 15.6
7	PASHTU & BALUCHI	19:00-20:00	14:30-15:30	4 740, 7 200, 11 278, 698	67.23, 41.235, 452
8	RUSSIAN	21:00-21:30	16:30-17:00	11 805	25
9	ARABIC	21:30-22:00	17:00-17:30	11 700, 15 530, 11 805	25.6, 19.3, 25
10	NASEED-E-HINDUKUSH (PASHTU & DARI)	22:00-23:00	17:30-18:30	9 665, 11 960, 11 805	31.03, 25.08, 25
11	GERMAN	23:00-23:30	18:30-19:30	9 665, 11 960, 11 805	31.03, 25.08, 25
12	ENGLISH 2	23:30-24:00	19:00-19:30	9 665, 11 960, 11 805	31.03, 25.08, 25
13	FRENCH	00:00-00:30	19:30-20:00	11 805, 7 200	25.41

TELEPHONE #s

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### MINISTRIES:

Agriculture and Land Reforms: 40841-2.  
Commerce: 41041-4.  
Communication: 21341-4.  
Education: 25151-3.  
Electric Energy: 25109.  
Finance: 26041-4.  
Foreign Affairs: 26441-4.  
Higher and Vocational

Education: 42351, 40871.

Interior: 32441-3.  
Irrigation: 40743-5.  
Justice: 23404.  
Light Industries and Foodstuff: 25841.  
Mines and Industries: 25841.

National Defence: 41777.  
Nationalities and Tribal Affairs: 21793.  
Public Health: 20841.  
Public Works: 20345-8.  
Transport: 25541-4.

KNT 9/27

KNT 9/27

While reliable figures are virtually impossible to ascertain, hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children are believed to have been killed or have died as a direct consequence of the war. Aerial bombardments and ground assaults against civilian habitations, executions, disease, and malnutrition provoked by the destruction of food sources are principal causes.

Furthermore, the number of Afghans seeking refuge in Pakistan, Iran, and elsewhere — now estimated at over 5 million and nearly one-third of Afghanistan's pre-war population of 15 million to 17 million — continues to rise. For the first time, farmers and nomads from the northern provinces of Kunduz, Takhar, and Baghlan bordering the USSR have been leaving in large numbers.

Analysts consider Moscow's systematic application of terror as part of a deliberate policy to rid Afghanistan of all potential resistance, a form of "migratory genocide" ignored by most of the world. This includes the strafing by Soviet MIG-27s on Aug. 18, as witnessed by this correspondent near the Chamar Pass just east of the Panjshair of some 500 Kandari nomads and their animals. The attack resulted in at least 40 dead and dozens of injured.

But Afghanistan's increasingly ruthless war is also a war of surprising contrasts.

Among several resistance-held settlements on the far side of the Kunar's churning, gray waters, there persists a determined struggle to survive in full view of passing military convoys and patrolling helicopters.

The vast majority of the tens of thousands of inhabitants who fled the valley during the Soviet offensives of 1980 and 1981 have yet to return. But groups of caretaker villagers have made a bid to wrest back their farms from the wasteland that much of this area has become.

Ignoring periodic mortaring and occasional sorties by government troops, the villagers have repaired homes, garden walls, and canals; they have replanted trees and even produced enough wheat to permit the water mills to rumble once again. . . .

Despite claims by US officials that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is running a highly effective and "daring" military assistance program to the resistance estimated at \$325 million, most observers who have traveled to Afghanistan including this correspondent have not found this to be the case. It is widely held that such executive leaks concerning CIA activities are part of a general disinformation effort by the present administration to conceal their lack of impact.

American military aid has been indeed seeping through, but the weapons and ammunition tend to be of poor quality or insufficient quantity. For example, Soviet-designed weapons supplied by Western and other sources such as 82-mm mortar rounds and SAM-7 missiles have proved to be ineffective. Other supplies such as mines and heavy machine guns have been coming in from China, but appropriate weaponry and, equally important, training to maintain a sustained war of resistance have yet to be forthcoming.

9/26 - SCMP - Two Afghan refugees were executed at Mian Wali District jail for "sexually abusing" two children. "Crime has been rampant in the areas where refugees live..."

- Guerrillas damaged 3 YAK-40 turbo jets & killed 3 Soviets in a rocket attack on Kabul airport. They also damaged the Ariana DC-10 which was carrying 308 returning hajis. (See Kabul chronology 9/14) - HK Standard - The paper cites a report saying that Soviet forces used chemical weapons in the Panjshir. "The chemicals are dispensed by aircraft" & cause "red & irritated skin, skin peeling & in some cases death."

9/28 - PT - Karmal reportedly asked the USSR for 50,000 more troops. The PT gave the number of Soviet troops in the DRA as 100,000 but the Inst. of Int'l Strategic Studies in London gives the number as 110,000. - Iran protested to Kabul over a border incident last week in which several people were killed. - A Soviet soldier interned in Switzerland for 2 years asked for asylum in Geneva. He is one of 3 recently released Soviets.

9/29 - SCMP - Pakistan reported that 32 people were killed in a bombing attack by a DRA plane over Tri Bazaar in Kurram, 20 kms from Parachinar.

9/30 - PT - Pakistan lodged "strong protests" with the Afghan chargé d'affaires in Islamabad over continuing air space violations over Chitral, Parachinar & Chaman. - A group of British doctors, calling themselves "Health Ltd.," has formed to work in areas under Mujahideen control in the DRA. - Ghaffar Khan returned to Peshawar.

10/1 - Refugees - Australians Care for Refugees (Austcare) supports a mobile medical center for Afghan refugees in Pakistan & funds 2 female nutritionists who conduct preventive health care education programs. - PT - Sudan has allowed Afghan mujahideen to open an office in Khartoum. - The Karmal regime has directed every citizen to register for compulsory membership in the PDPA by 10/31. Citizens without registration cards will be considered counter-revolutionaries. ( See 10/15 - SCMP) - SCMP - Guerrillas have been shelling Kabul daily since 9/13 according to British journalist, Barrie Penrose, who spent 8 days in Kabul.

10/2 - PT - Over 120 Afghan refugee families in Quetta were moved to Daidbandin in Western Baluchistan.

- DRA forces are stepping up their activities along the Pak-Afgh border in Baluchistan.

- NYT - The DRA denied that its planes had bombed Teri Mangal last week. Pakistan claims that 33 people were killed & 48 injured. Pakistan has recorded 400 air space violations since the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan.

- WSJ - Rosanne Klass writes that the student body of Kabul Univ. is "believed to be almost entirely Baluchis from Pakistan, Iranians of various parties & Palestinians, with a sprinkling of Syrians, Libyans & Yemānis." She also writes: "The beatification of Pushtunistan's aged fire-brand Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan...has begun with his nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize." Her article is about Pakistan's problems & the severity of the Soviet threat to the region and the world.

- CSM - Edward Girardet reports on an interview he had with Massoud in the Panjshair Valley last month. Massoud says the war is getting harder. The Soviet helicopter troops "have learned a good deal about mountain guerrilla warfare & are fighting much better than before. They have caused us some serious problems but we have learned to cope with them. Unfortunately, we are in danger of losing our people... Failing to crush us by force...they have turned their wrath on defenseless people, killing old men, women, & children, destroying houses & burning crops."

10/4 - Federation for American Afghan Action Press Release (dated 10/10) - Congress unanimously passed Senate Concurrent Resolution 74, the Afghan Effective Support Resolution introduced by Sen. Paul Tsongas (D-MA). The resolution calls for the US "to support effectively the Afghan people in their fight for freedom..."

10/5 - NYT - Nine Afghan rebels were sentenced to death & one to 15 years in prison for setting off a bomb blast at Kabul airport on 8/31 which killed 13 & wounded 207.

- PT - A Moscow radio correspondent after visiting Herat reported that curfew is in force & that there are signs of

bullets everywhere on the walls of houses. Apparently more stories about the Afghan War are appearing in the Soviet press.

10/8 - IHT - The Soviet ambassador to Pakistan warned "that Soviet troops will kill Western reporters who enter Afghanistan clandestinely with rebels." He also said that French journalist, Jacques Abochar, would be released (see p. ).

10/10 - NYT - Western diplomats in Delhi said that Russia had sent 70,000 new troops to Afghanistan. They also reported that the Soviets had offered to negotiate a cease fire with Massoud in the Panjshir. The Soviets would withdraw from the Valley on the condition that the Kabul-Hairatan highway would not be attacked by rebels.

- SCMP - Soviet troops are flying nightly reconnaissance flights to thwart the stepped-up rebel attacks on Kabul. Tanks & armored cars patrol entrances to the city & house-to-house searches have been increased. Soviet bombing was reported in the Logar Valley as was heavy fighting round Paghman and in Pakhtia.

10/11 - IHT - The DRA has imposed further restrictions on the movements of foreign diplomats living in Kabul.

- SCMP - Guerrillas fire about 50 Chinese-made 57mm rockets, tipped with magnesium for incendiary brilliance, into Kabul each week. Electricity is on about 2 hours/wk & most people are cooking on wood fires or kerosene stoves because gas is short. The fuel situation will likely be a problem this winter.

10/12 - NYT - Pakistan has asked the US about buying an early warning system based on E 2-C Hawkeyes to help defend its borders against raids from Afghan aircraft.

10/15 - PT - West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, visiting Pakistan, said German aid to Afghan refugees would be "enhanced." West Germany has already given DM 20m in medicine & food aid.

- Former Pakistani Foreign Minister, Agha Shahi, called upon Muslim leaders to strive harder to "extricate the people of Afghanistan from foreign domination."

- SCMP - DRA authorities seem to be trying to introduce a Soviet-style internal passport system. All citizens must have official permission to travel outside their villages & they must register out-of-town guests.

10/18 - PT - Pres. Zia said that Pakistan had no dispute with the USSR but had differences with her on the Afghan issue.

10/19 - SCMP - The Int'l. Inst. of Strategic Studies does not see a solution to the Afghan problem for a long time. The IISS gives Russian military strength in the DRA as 115,000 men, 180 war planes & 270 armed helicopters. They number guerrillas at 90,000 supported by 10 exile groups.

10/20 - NYT - A US Committee for Refugees report estimates that "3.66m Afghans left the DRA this year compared with 3.3m last year." The report gave the DRA's 1982 population as 15.1m.

10/21 - PT - The Soviet Army newspaper cited soldiers in Afghanistan as saying their units were too small to battle mujahideen on the main highway between Kabul & the USSR.

- NYT - Jacques Abouchar was sentenced to 18 years by a special revolutionary court (see p. 11).

10/22 - IHT - Afghan exiles & chicken:

Afghan refugees in New York may soon be to fried chicken what the Koreans are to fruit and vegetable stands. About 10,000 to 15,000 Afghans have arrived in the Big Apple since the Soviet Army intervened in their country in December 1979, and the city already has about 110 Afghan fast food shops, bearing such all-American names as Boston Fried Chicken, Harlem Fried Chicken and Texas Fried Chicken. Similar Afghan fast food outlets have opened in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, California and Washington, D.C.

The man who started it all actually arrived before the Soviet intervention. Taeb Zia came

to the United States in 1972, got a job with a fried chicken outfit and earned enough to buy the franchise. Now he owns six Kennedy Fried Chicken shops (named after the late president "just because Afghans like him a lot") in Manhattan, Queens and Brooklyn.

Mr. Zia employs mainly Afghan refugees and provides technical assistance to those who want to start their own fried chicken restaurants. The Afghans say the competition from the big chains like Kentucky Fried Chicken is tough, but that their own chicken is special because of the spices, mainly red pepper and fresh garlic.

10/23 - SCMP - Pres. Zia was quoted in an official Chinese report as saying that the USSR recently sent 50,000 extra troops to Afghanistan, bringing the total Soviet force there to 150,000.

10/24 - NYT - The French Communist Party suspended links with the PDPA to protest the jailing of Jacques Abouchar. (see p.11).

10/26 - NYT - Jacques Abouchar was released (see p. 11).

- PT - A Pakistani civilian was killed by bullets fired from the DRA side of the Arandu Post in Chitral.

- SCMP - Radio Kabul said Pakistani forces had shelled DRA territory near Baringkot daily since 10/19.

10/27 - PT - Urban & rural localities in the DRA may be put under siege by Soviet forces. Certain localities will be surrounded by barbed wire & closed to traffic except by prescribed approaches. Entrance & exit will be prohibited after 9 p.m.

- SCMP - The death toll in a bomb blast in a Peshawar theater on 10/24 is 5 with 30 others injured. Police could not yet say whether the blast was linked to Afghan exile rivalries.

10/29 - PT - Radio Tehran reports that the DRA has asked everyone over 17 years of age to report for military service. It also said that 40,000 more Soviet troops had been sent to Afghanistan. - Two of the 7 Afghans who were sent to the US for medical treatment last summer have returned to Pakistan. [The organization credited with this in the article was "Marry Cares!"]

10/29 - PT - Lt. Col. Said Azam Shah, a KHAD director, was shot by mujahideen in Logar.

- Lt. Gen. Fazle Haq, NWFP Governor, said that the "notorious group of Bhutto brothers has been reestablished at Kabul to sabotage the elections in Pakistan."

- SCMP - Afghanistan made clear yesterday that from now on journalists caught entering the country with Muslim rebels fighting communist rule from Kabul will be punished.

The Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Sarwar Yuresh, told French parliamentarian Mr Yves Tavernier as he was about to collect journalist Jacques Abouchar that the Soviet-backed Government would not tolerate other reporters entering the country illegally.

10/30 - SCMP - A kidnap plan:

Afghan underground forces were set to kidnap a Soviet general in Kabul last month to exchange for imprisoned French journalist Jacques Abouchar, a resistance chief said yesterday.

Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, the head of the Jamiat Islami Party, said that he had ordered the kidnap a few days after the reporter was arrested on September 17 for entering the country illegally on a reporting assignment.

The kidnap bid failed at the last minute, only because a truckload of Afghan soldiers happened to stop in the vicinity, he added.

Prof Rabbani said the scheme, involving two underground agents disguised as Afghan police and two others in civilian clothes, stopped the car of an unidentified Soviet general near the Soviet Embassy in western Kabul.

Pretending to examine identity papers, the agents planned to kill the driver and abduct the general, but no sooner had they stopped the general's car than an Afghan military truck unloaded troops at the intersection, he said.

When the Afghan soldiers asked the bogus officials why they were investigating a Soviet car, the rebels fled, but two were arrested.

- NYT - 17 Afghans were hanged in Zاهدان in Eastern Iran for drug smuggling.

10/30 - PT - Pakistan denied Afghan charges of firing long-range weapons over the border. Pakistan accused the DRA of bombing Arandu village in Chitral, killing 4.

10/31 - IHT - About 240 Soviet soldiers died when their troop transport plane crashed on 10/28 near Kabul. The cause of the crash is unknown but sources confirm that guerrillas now have SAM-7 surface to-air missiles. Guerrillas also got 3 helicopters last week. One exploded over the Coca Cola factory according to the SCMP.

11/1 - NYT - No chronology would be complete with out excerpts from Drew Middleton:

The Soviet Union's military involvement in Afghanistan has grown significantly in the last six months, according to Western intelligence sources.

In addition to the 115,000 Soviet soldiers and airmen reportedly stationed in the country, the sources reported this week that another 50,000 airborne troops have been deployed just north of the Soviet-Afghan frontier.

These troops are flown into Afghanistan when guerrilla forces are sighted on the move or when the insurgents' fortified strongholds must be reduced, the sources said. They are believed to be better trained than other Soviet forces, which hold the cities, airfields and main roads. . . .

The Soviet bloc's Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is supplying 93 percent of Afghanistan's foreign aid, according to a statement by Babrak Karmal, the head of the Afghan Government. . . .

More than 70 percent of Afghanistan's foreign trade now goes to Comecon countries. According to one London report virtually all of Afghanistan's natural gas production, estimated at 3,000 million cubic meters, is sold to the Soviet Union.

The Russians are deeply committed to economic aid to Afghanistan. One London report estimates that aid has increased substantially since 1980. Under an agreement reached in 1983, the Russians will supply 100,000 tons of wheat as grant aid and sell Afghanistan another 100,000 tons this year.

In return for this help, the Russians are reported by Western intelligence analysts to be exploiting their economic opportunities, including mineral deposits, in Afghanistan.

11/2 - NYT - US Communist Party presidential candidate Gus Hall defended the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a response to what he said were "ambitions of the CIA in that country & distinguished it from US activities in Nicaragua by saying, "Two people may go into somebody

else's house - but one is there to help & the other to rob."

11/5 - NYT - Seven seriously wounded Afghan guerrillas were flown to the US for treatment in a hospital in Richmond, Virginia. The wounded, all between 25 & 35 years old, were accompanied by 2 Afghan doctors who will train for 3 months in US hospitals. Americans, a non-profit foundation based in Connecticut, made the arrangements.

- Pres. Zia, in India for Mrs. Ghanhi's funeral, met with Rajiv Gandhi & said he hoped Mr. Gandhi would try to persuade the USSR to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.

- CSM - On 10/26 DRA forces again assaulted the Panjsher Valley with ca. 15,000 troops & over 1,500 vehicles. The attack was preceded by high altitude bombing. Edward Girardet writes that the "offensive appears to be part of an overall Soviet strategy to maintain constant pressure throughout the winter... The fact that heliborne troops reportedly have been dropped along the main caravan route points to Soviet determination to block supply routes until winter conditions make it impossible to travel."

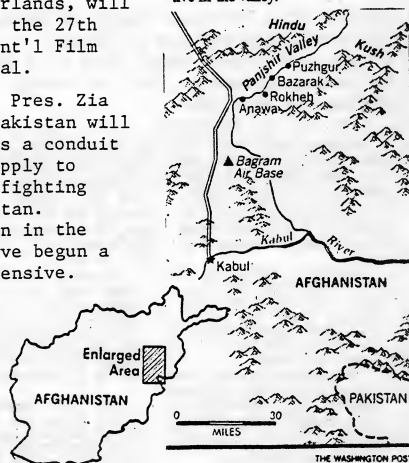
11/6 - WP - Australian journalist Anthony Davis left the Panjsher at the end of October. He gives the following figures: According to 'Mr. Massoud,

14,500 Communist troops are deployed in Panjshir, 7,000 Russians at Anawa, Rokheh and Bazarak and an additional 7,500 Afghans at Bahrak and Fuzhgur. Mr. Massoud declined to give figures for his own forces, but independent estimates suggest that between 5,000 and 10,000 full-time guerrillas are active in the valley.

11/8 - PT - A 30-minute documentary on Afghan refugees, narrated by James Mason & co-produced by Pakistan TV & Radio Netherlands, will be shown in the 27th annual NY Int'l Film & TV Festival.

11/9 - PT - Pres. Zia said that Pakistan will not serve as a conduit for arms supply to mujahideen fighting in Afghanistan.

- Mujahideen in the Panjsher have begun a counter offensive.



11/11 - PT - West Germany ranks 3rd after Pakistan & Iran in the number of Afghan refugees.

11/12 - PT - 50 mujahideen stormed the Jalalabad airport destroying a transport & 2 helicopters.

- NYT - The two Soviet soldiers who defected from Afghanistan & came to Britain returned to the USSR. Sgt. Igor Rykhov & Pvt. Oleg Khlan, both Ukrainians, returned to their families after 16 months in Britain.



Mr Rykhov (in front) and Mr Khlan preparing to board a flight for Leningrad at Heathrow.

—AP picture.

SCMP photo

11/13 - PT - Princess Sharda of Nepal visited Afghan refugee villages.

- Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan told the UN General Assembly that 1 of every 4 Afghans is a refugee.

- From the HK Standard:

The Soviet army's tough 1984 summer offensive has destroyed the village infrastructure which supported the Moslem resistance in many parts of eastern and central Afghanistan and has put heavy pressure on supply routes coming in from Pakistan, they told Reuters.

Guerrillas in many parts of northern Afghanistan, including a former rebel stronghold in the Panjsher Valley, will be cut off from outside supplies this winter for the first time since the war began, they added.

The price the communists have had to pay for their widespread bombing and crop-burning has been increased rebel attacks on Kabul, which used to be considered a city-state spared from the worst effects of the war. . .

"The war has been deadlocked until now, but we are beginning to

lose the population," said one Afghan whose party assigned him to find ways of keeping peasants from fleeing to Pakistan or Kabul.

"If this continues, we may eventually lose the war because there will be nowhere for the Mujahideen (Islamic warriors) to hide," he said. . .

In August, communist troops finally sealed the rebels' main supply route to the Panjsher and further north after a local tribal chief, who was in government pay but let guerilla convoys pass through his area, left for Pakistan with up to 3,000 men.

The tribe's departure from Sarobi, 60 km east of Kabul, allowed one guerilla party to blow up 40 electricity lines feeding Kabul, but at the price of closing a vital route for other parties operating further north.

11/14 - NYT - The Soviets are taking thousands of primary school children, ages 7 - 9, from their families & sending them to the USSR for 10 years. 870 left Kabul on 11/5.

11/15 - PT - Radio Tehran reported that defections & desertions in the Afghan army are increasing in spite of strict preventative measures. A defecting soldier said that "suppression in the Karmal army is prevailing to such an extent that even the officers & soldiers who were decorated with awards now are joining the mujahideen." The Radio also announced that tens of thousands of Soviet troops are arriving to replace the Afghans. The heavy bombing of villages is reportedly causing a "wave of hatred" against the Soviets.

11/16 - NYT - The UN General Assembly again voted for a resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. The vote was 119 for, 20 against, 14 abstentions.

11/18 - SCMP - Mary Anne Weaver writes from Parachinar:

THE tranquillity of this picturesque, old cantonment in the Kurram Valley, Pakistan's last line of defence, was abruptly shattered by the roar and sonic booms of MIG-17 fighter-bombers bearing the hammer and sickle of neighbouring Afghanistan.

There have been more than 25 such air violations in the last three months, and nine ground violations, in this rugged Pathan tribal belt, set on the Afghanistan border, 60 miles from Kabul.

According to Pakistani officials, there have been more than 40 shellings and aerial bombardments of their territory this year.

More than 130 people have died, 54 in August alone, in what is viewed as a new Soviet strategy to seal the Afghanistan-Pakistan frontier.

In the process, the Kremlin leaders have brought the five-year-old war in Afghanistan dangerously close to Pakistan. . . .

Whether local Pathan tribes or Afghan mujahideen guerrillas, they speak openly of constituting Pakistan's "first line of defence."

Beyond them lie the Samed Koh mountains and desolate stretches of no-man's land.

Was there any hard evidence, I asked the commander of the Kurram militia, Colonel Sher Rehman, that the Soviet Army had received new instructions allowing for "hot pursuit" against mujahideen staging raids from Pakistan?

"What do these bombardments indicate?" he asked in return. "Hot pursuit has already begun. This is the first stage. The next logical step would be the incursion of ground forces, with stepped up air support."

Just outside Parachinar, in the Kurram river's dried-up beds, Afghan rebels loaded 20 camels with ammunition and artillery shells.

They were making one of their last forays across the mountains before the snows began.

11/19 - PT - Mujahideen blew up 9 aircraft & a helicopter at the Kandahar airport.

- The DRA accused Pakistan of firing across the border killing a boy & wounding a woman.

11/21 - NYT - The Soviets are building 2 new airstrips in Western Afghanistan, one south of Herat & the other in Nimroz.

- SCMP - Guerrillas shot down a helicopter containing a Soviet general. The general died.



11/23 - PT - Two Soviet soldiers flew home to the USSR from Zurich ending 2 years of internment. Three other Soviet soldiers, captured in Afghanistan, are still interned.

11/24 - PT - The opening of the Kandahar TV station last month was disrupted by heavy shelling by mujahideen.

11/25 - NYT - About 10,000 unmarried Afghan refugees have been moved out of Peshawar & 5,000 more will be moved next month.

- PT - Refugee Commissioner for the NWFP Mohmand reported in an interview that ca. 3,000 Afghans are coming into the NWFP every month. There are 2m refugees in 235 RTVs in 94 places. He explained that the shifting of single Afghans out of Peshawar was to alleviate congestion & to strengthen security. The Pakistan gov't. is "checking hotels & serais to apprehend suspicious elements." Ca. 80,000 refugees in Peshawar will receive exemption permits and will be allowed to stay. Mohmand denied rumors that Afghans were buying property & said that it was gov't. policy "not to allow them to purchase immovable properties here & necessary steps had been taken to ensure effective implementation of this policy." About 90,000 refugees have been moved to Mianwali in the Punjab & 20,000 will be moved there soon. 80,000 children are enrolled in 500 schools in refugee camps. 50 tube wells & 1,400 shallow wells have been drilled but so far drinking water is available in 50% of the camps. - Pakistan protested to the Afghans & to the United Nations about DRA firing across the border in the Khyber Agency. She also denied the DRA allegation that she had fired on Barikot in Kunar Prov.

11/28 - NYT - Leslie Gelb writes about covert aid on page 1. Extracts:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27 - United States officials say \$280 million has been earmarked in covert military aid for the Afghan insurgents this fiscal year, more than doubling the aid in the fiscal year that ended Sept. 30.

This will bring total American aid to \$625 million since Soviet troops intervened in Afghanistan in December 1979. This does not include additional aid of \$100 million provided last year by Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries, China and Israel, according to official estimates.

Although all those interviewed agreed that the aid was substantial, there was disagreement over how

Other intelligence sources and several outside experts assert that the Russians are making gradual progress, that 15 to 40 percent of the arms aid is being skimmed off by the Pakistanis and by Afghan exiles and that, of the arms that do get through, many are old or ineffective.

The sources described the system for supplying arms to the rebels. According to these accounts, American dollars are used to purchase mainly Soviet-made arms from countries such as China, Egypt and Israel. The price is said to be exorbitant.

The arms are then delivered to Pakistani ports. At that point, by agreement between the C.I.A. and Pakistan, the supplies pass to Pakistani control for delivery to the political leaders of the Afghan insurgency in Peshawar, Pakistan, and elsewhere. They, in turn, are supposed to pass them to the guerrillas.

The sources said that Pakistan skimmed off some arms and played favorites among the Afghan exiles, but that most of the skimming was done by the exiles themselves.

A more detailed report was given at the end of September to the Senate Intelligence Committee by Alexander Alexiev of the Rand Corporation working under a Pentagon contract. To him, the problem was the quality, more than the quantity, of the arms being delivered to the Afghan rebels, who he called the Mujahideen.

"The most glaring deficiency," he testified, "continues to be the lack of any effective means to combat Soviet jets and helicopters."

The \$280 million approved by Congress for this year will not begin reaching the rebels for about a year. For the first time, it will include cash for food purchases on Afghan markets.

"As a result of the Soviet strategy of forcing people off their land," an intelligence official said, "classical guerrilla warfare strategy is being reversed. Instead of the people feeding the guerrillas, the guerrillas have to feed the people and themselves."

Mr. Alexiev and others said Soviet troops had been effective in military operations against noncombatants and had been "largely successful" in their strategy of controlling the urban areas and major transport routes.

11/28 - PT - Afghan aircraft bombed Arandu village in Chitral yesterday injuring a Pakistani. - Mujahideen rockets hit the Radio Kabul building & other buildings in Kabul Sunday. At least 4 people were killed. - Radio Tehran reported that a Soviet attack in Paktia had been repulsed by guerrillas after 3 days of fighting.

11/29 - PT - Soviet archaeologists have discovered the remains of a 1,000 year-old silver mining city in the Pamir Mountains.

12/2 - NYT - Seth Mydans writes from Moscow that the 2 Soviet deserters who returned home (see 11/12) "were portrayed in a heroic light as having withstood pressures to betray the Soviet Union."

12/4 - NYT - Defense Minister Abdul Qadir has been reassigned to the post of 1st deputy chmn. of the Revolutionary Council Assembly. He was replaced in the Defense Ministry by Lt. Gen. Nazar Mohammed, the former Chief of Staff.

much arms aid was actually reaching the rebels, whether the weapons were adequate and, above all, whether the guerrillas were winning or losing.

Beyond this, there remains a dispute over the American purpose. The Administration talks about making the Soviet Union "pay a price" for its intervention. To Congressional officials, the Administration's approach condemns the rebels to defeat.

By all accounts, Congress has been responsible for most of the increases in covert aid, sometimes encountering Administration resistance.

12/18 - NYT - Nikolai Ryzhkov, a Soviet soldier who defected in Afghanistan 18 months ago, has decided to return to the USSR from the US. A Soviet dissident living in Washington who had recently seen Ryzhkov said: "I don't think he left because he wanted to leave, but because... people didn't let him live in America. He was forced 11 times in the course of a year to change his place of residence & 7 times to change his place of work."

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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB - Afghan Information Center Monthly Bulletin  
AWSJ - Asian Wall Street Journal  
CC - Central Committee  
CSM - Christian Science Monitor  
DRA - Democratic Republic of Afghanistan  
DYOA - Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan  
FEER - Far Eastern Economic Review  
FRG - Federal Republic of Germany  
IHT - International Herald Tribune  
KNT - Kabul New Times  
NFF - National Fatherland Front  
NWFP - North West Frontier Province  
NYT - New York Times  
PDPA - People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan  
PT - Pakistan Times  
RTV - Refugee Tent Village  
SCMP - South China Morning Post  
UNHCR - United Nations High Commission for Refugees  
WDOA - Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan  
WSJ - Wall Street Journal

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the  
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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